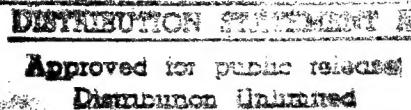


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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE
CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No. 6, November-December 1984

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USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No. 6, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1984

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HARMFUL EFFECTS OF ARMS RACE ON CIVILIAN R&D, INVESTMENT

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 3-14

[Article by Nikolay Petrovich Ivanov, doctor of economic sciences and head researcher of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations: "The Arms Race and Problems of Unemployment"]

[Excerpts] The inhibiting action of ever increasing military expenditures on the development of the American economy is arousing increasingly more concern not only in broad circles of the American public, but also among representatives of big business. A survey of 600 leaders of major American firms, made in 1983 by the journal BUSINESS WEEK, showed that 85 percent of those surveyed think it is necessary to reduce military expenditures for purposes of the struggle against the budget deficit.¹

Another important fact inhibiting the development of the economy and the rate of employment is the shifting of a substantial part of the scientific-technical potential of the United States and other imperialist states to military research and development. At the present time 57 percent of appropriations for scientific research and development in the United States and 52.5 percent of them in Great Britain go for military purposes.²

In conditions of the arm race scientific-technical progress is taking on increasingly distorted forms, limiting itself mainly to development and construction of new systems of weapons of mass destruction. Because of this, the question -- what is the impact of the militarization of science on the development of the economy -- does this path of development accelerate or, on the contrary, slow down the general rate of scientific-technical progress? -- is becoming more and more urgent. This is a heavily debated issue. Advocates of the arms race assert that expansion of the scope of military research and development has a favorable impact on economic development as a whole, since it stimulates scientific-technical progress. Citing cases where particular technical achievements and inventions obtained during military research are used in civilian sectors, they consider expenditures for arms a major factor of contemporary scientific-technical progress.

The problem of carrying discoveries and inventions completed in the military sphere over to peaceful sectors of the economy deserves special attention. Undoubtedly, many important scientific-technical advances, among them the

development of atomic reactors, radar, and the like, were made during work on military projects and only later transferred to the civilian economy. Nonetheless, this does not mean that if not for the desire to build an atomic bomb or a military radar system, atomic power engineering and contemporary electronics would not have become major sectors of modern industry. The basic theoretical conclusions which made it possible to proceed to practical scientific-technical and design tasks were as a rule obtained independently of the particular assignments of military departments. Thus, the development of fundamental science progresses independently of military programs and goals. The subordination of science to the tasks of the arms race begins at a lower level -- on the level of applied research -- and is completed on the level of experimental-design developments and experimental production.

The following question is natural: if development in the higher "floors" of science progresses independently of military goals, then why is the degree of militarization of modern science so high?

The point is that the practical realization of scientific discoveries involves enormous material and nonmaterial social expenditures. Fundamental research absorbs only a relatively small part of total expenditures for scientific research and development. A substantially larger part of these expenditures is used for applied research. And finally, experimental-design developments take up the lion's share of expenditures. In the United States, for example, according to 1979 data, of a total of 51.6 billion dollars, expenditures for fundamental scientific research totaled 14 percent; for applied research -- 22 percent; and for experimental-design developments -- 64 percent. But even this is not all. Expenditures for scientific research and experimental-design work [NIOKR] are like the tip of an iceberg, whose basic mass is hidden below the water. Enormous amounts of capital go to build the production base necessary for developing a fundamentally new type of output in which a scientific discovery is realized. According to some evaluations, expenditures for NIOKR amount to only 10-15 percent of total expenditures to realize a scientific idea in actual products.

These enormous expenditures substantially limit the realization of all potential opportunities to use a scientific discovery. The problem of selecting which direction applied research and development should follow and determining the goals of using a fundamental scientific idea becomes decisively important. Political factors and priorities enter in here. Preference is usually given to the military-industrial complex's interests.

What on the whole is the role of military research in the development of science and engineering?

Undoubtedly, military research advances the solution of complex scientific-technical problems, reducing the time between the discovery and its realization but in a very narrow field, for example in missile engineering, by concentrating enormous material resources and the most talented research and design personnel in this field. As a result, marked progress is achieved in one or several narrow fields of engineering because of the artificial constriction of the general front of scientific-technical progress. Many promising directions of scientific research unrelated to weapons are

restricted; many technical projects which give promise of great socioeconomic effect are shelved.

In these conditions, the statement of the problem of the economic effect of carrying inventions in the field of military research over to the civilian sphere of the economy must be modified. Advocates of the continuation of the arms race proceed from the assertion that if it were not for military research, technical ideas and technology would not be carried over from the military sphere to the civilian sphere. They do not want to acknowledge any alternative to the militaristic scientific programs. Meanwhile the question remains: what would be the benefit from turning from military research programs to a peaceful footing? What does mankind lose from concentrating scientific efforts on creating weapons of mass destruction?

According to assessments by specialists in the field of the U.S. military economy, expenditures for military research and development cost too high a price for the relatively small scale of technology transfer from the military sphere to the civilian sphere. The economic effect from using military inventions in peaceful sectors amounts to 5-10 percent of total military expenditures, notes S. Melman, the well-known American specialist in the field of military economics.³ Diverting colossal material resources and the best scientific-technical specialists in the field of military research and development sharply reduces science's effectiveness in developing the economy, impedes scientific-technical progress in peaceful sectors, and leads to a reduction in the competitiveness of commodities on the world market. The Council on Problems of Economic Priorities emphasizes: "The Reagan administration's course to develop military production leads to undermining the competitiveness of American commodities. Advocates of the growing military budget, including Casper Weinberger, the secretary of defense, assert that expanded military production stimulates investments as well as scientific research and development in sectors involving the newest equipment and insures the transfer of new technology to traditional sectors. Nonetheless, in the last two decades the effect of using military technology in U. S. industry to improve the competitiveness of its civilian output has been very weak."⁴

Whereas the output of the American automotive industry in 1960 was 22.6 percent of all automobile sales on the world market, in 1979 the figure was only 13.9 percent. The share of output from the American airplane construction industry on the world market during this same period declined from 70.9 to 58.0 percent; the proportion of machine tool building output declined from 28.5 to 14.5 percent; the proportion of agricultural machine building output declined from 40.2 to 23.2 percent; and the proportion of machine tool building output declined from 32.5 to 21.7 percent. The positions of American firms were substantially weakened in the markets of the United States itself as a result of competition from foreign commodities. The proportion of American automobiles in the total volume of sales declined from 95.9 percent in 1960 to 79.0 percent in 1979; the share of machine tools and mechanisms declined from 96.7 to 73.6 percent; and the proportion of domestic electronic goods declined from 94.4 to 49.3 percent in the same period.⁵

As a result, not only are the interests of broad circles of American manufacturers who produce peaceful output suffering, but opportunities to

increase the employment rate in industry are also being reduced, which stimulates increased unemployment.

The problem of a quantitative evaluation of the impact of the arms race on the rate of economic growth and the level of employment is very complicated. Too many other factors of an economic, political, and social nature determine the dynamics of economic development and the situation on the labor market. The cycle and general situation on the raw material, energy resource, and capital markets as well as the country's level of equipment and its position in the general system of the world capitalist economy have a decisive influence on economic growth. As for the unemployment level, in many respects it depends on the rate of economic growth, the dynamics of labor productivity related, in particular, to technical reequipment with economically highly productive equipment, the demographic situation, and the degree to which the level of general and occupational training of the work force corresponds to demands being made on the labor market.

Despite the complexity of identifying the role of the military spending factor on the development of the economy, its negative significance is such that it can be assessed statistically -- especially if sufficiently long periods of time are examined. The American Council on Problems of Economic Priorities conducted an intercountry study which correlated such key economic indicators as average annual rate of economic growth, proportion of investments in gross national product (GNP), and average annual rate of growth of labor productivity with the proportion of military spending in GNP. The study included 13 capitalist countries (the United States, Canada, Great Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Austria, and Japan) and encompassed the period 1960-1979. As a result, the following patterns were identified: the higher the level of military spending in the country, the lower the rate of economic growth (the coefficient of rank correlation is 0.58), the lower the level of investments in GNP (the coefficient of rank correlation is 0.52), and the lower the rate of growth of labor productivity (the coefficient of rank correlation is 0.66).⁶

The reorientation of economic policy to solve the most crucial social problems is closely tied to change in the basic directions of scientific-technical policy and to its decisive turn toward a peaceful footing; this is a necessary prerequisite to solving the global problems of contemporary times. A number of new interdisciplinary scientific directions whose development requires long-term scientific-technical programs equal in scope to space programs are being advanced. These include the set of ecological problems with a practical solution for monitoring the functioning of the "economy -- nature" system in order to prevent irreversible changes in the environment, climate, and natural resources; the set of agro-biological problems with a practical way to solve the world food problem; the set of problems of developing the resources of the world ocean; the set of energy problems related to developing fundamentally new sources of energy, including the controlled thermonuclear reaction; the set of technical problems related to developing closed production cycles, eliminating production waste, and reducing the problem of pollution; the set of transportation problems, including development of an economical engine which does not pollute the environment and the reorganization of the public and private transport system and the freight hauling system; and the set of

medical-biological problems involving the development of effective methods of fighting the "illnesses of the century," and epidemic, hygienic, and occupational illnesses.

Solving these problems is impossible without using all the world's scientific-technical potential and the largest research centers with their numerous cadres of scientists and designers who are engaged in military research at the present time.

As world experience, in particular the experience of space research, attests, long-term programs which not only envision fundamental and applied research but an enormous amount of planning-design and experimental work requiring the development of a special industrial base, the creation of new types of production facilities, new materials, and so forth are needed in order to qualitatively progress in any field of science and engineering,. This production base can above all be sectors of industry which specialize in the production of especially precise and complex equipment. This means the electronics, instrument building, aviation-missile, and chemical industries and computer equipment production, that is, sectors, a substantial part of whose production capacities work on fulfilling military orders.

If these sectors are reoriented to peaceful purposes, many skilled worker and specialist personnel will gain a new and much broader field of activity. The problem of job placement of highly skilled personnel engaged in the military industry will thereby be solved. They will not be forced to change their place of work. Thus, a fundamental change in the purposes and priorities of scientific-technical policy and the reorientation of world scientific-technical potential to research in fields vitally important to mankind is impossible without the termination of the arms race and disarmament.

FOOTNOTES

1. BUSINESS WEEK, 21 February 1983, p 10.
2. "UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1983."
3. ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, Vol 1, No 4, 1975, p 492.
4. "The Costs and Consequences of Reagan's Military Buildup," New York, 1982, p 21.
5. Ibid., p 14.
6. Ibid., pp 50-53.

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FRENCH CP ROLE IN 'PEACE STRUGGLE' PRAISED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 31-45

[Article by Eduard Arsen'yevich Arsen'yev, candidate of historical sciences: "The French CP in the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament and Against Imperialism and the Nuclear Threat"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Excerpts] "I believe in the French revolutionary proletariat." --
V.I. Lenin

With the sharp heightening of tension in the world caused by the increasing aggressiveness of international imperialism and its desire to find a way out of the crisis through an unrestrained nuclear and conventional arms race and in new military adventures, the communist parties are called upon to confirm and strengthen their vanguard, revolutionary role not only in the struggle for the workers' vital interests and for social progress, but for the preservation of peace and against the increasing threat of nuclear war and, essentially, for the salvation of human civilization. Therefore, the problems of war and peace and of the struggle for nuclear arms reduction and disarmament and against the NATO militaristic course, and actions in favor of rallying all antiimperialist peace-loving forces and developing the antiwar and antimissile movement have in recent years been occupying an ever greater place in the activities of communist parties.

Independently determining its own strategy and policy, as well as the forms of its actions, each communist party makes an original contribution to the common struggle against the danger of war and for peace and disarmament. The French Communist Party (PCF) has great traditions and rich experience in participating in the movement in defense of peace both on a national and an international scale. And it is no accident that the outstanding French scientist and member of the PCF Central Committee, Frederic Joliot-Curie was the first chairman of the World Peace Council in the 1950's.

Specific Features of the Political Situation

A feature of the contemporary situation in France is the sharp exacerbation of the class struggle with regard to very important questions of domestic and foreign policy, above all concerning ways and methods to gradually overcome

the economic depression and crisis phenomena (unemployment, inflation, and so forth), as well as the country's role in the international arena in the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the nuclear threat.

In recent years the antiwar movement, which embraces very different political and public circles, has been enjoying ever greater development in France, as in many other countries. There is growing concern among broad sections of the population at the fact that the threat of nuclear war is intensifying because of the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, while the security of European countries is diminishing. According to a recent public opinion poll, more than half the French people believe that the danger of war in Europe has increased recently. It is revealing that this opinion exists among young working people (more than 57 percent), workers (more than 58 percent), and peasants (more than 62 percent).¹ As K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out in a speech on 2 March 1984, "There is growing indignation in Western Europe over the actions of those who are sacrificing its security to Washington's imperial ambitions. Millions of members of the antimissile movement speak expressively of this."²

"It is better to be active today than radioactive tomorrow," French peace supporters declare, building up their efforts in the struggle against the nuclear threat. At the same time, pro-Atlantic forces have become more active in France and are seeking to subordinate France's foreign policy to U.S. and NATO interests and, according to the PCF General Secretary G. Marchais, to deliver the country up to Reagan, as happened in World War II.³ In this situation French communists have substantially increased their attention to problems of the further development of the antiwar movement in recent years, particularly since the 24th PCF Congress (February 1982). The resolutions of the congress emphasized that French communists consider the struggle for peace a major direction of their activity and a constituent part of their struggle for the workers' vital interests and socialism. It was also pointed out that the PCF "intends to make an active contribution to this struggle both through its support for the actions of the movement of the supporters of peace and through its own activity."⁴

Another specific feature of the PCF's work in recent years is the fact that it has taken place in the new political situation which took shape as a result of the victory of leftist forces in the 1981 elections and the communists' participation (until July 1984) in the government on the basis of a political agreement with the socialists. On the one hand, this opened up new opportunities for the Communist Party in its activity, while on the other, it created complex problems and difficulties. And one of the most important was how to combine participating in a government which takes a virtually pro-Atlantic stand on a number of questions, particularly the question of the deployment of new American missiles in Europe, with defending class positions on issues of war and peace and the independent interests of the working class.

The joint statement adopted 23 June 1981 by the leaders of the PCF and the Socialist Party [PS] on the main directions of government policy stated that "both parties will support France's international policy -- with observance of its alliances -- in favor of peace and gradual disarmament with a view to simultaneously disbanding military blocs, while insuring the balance of forces

in Europe and in the world and the security of every country. In this spirit they advocated the speedy commencement of international talks on limiting and reducing arms in Europe.⁵ It was no accident that this compromise agreement was of a very general nature; it defined merely the basic orientation of the government's foreign policy, leaving both parties considerable opportunity for independent activity and initiative in the international sphere. This also reflected the existence of serious disagreements between the communists and the socialists on many important international issues.

The disagreements between the PCF and the PS continued to intensify as the socialists departed more and more from their 1981 election promises both in the socioeconomic sphere and in the foreign policy sphere, undertaking more and more actions at variance with the workers' interests. As a result, a decision was adopted at the PCF Central Committee extraordinary plenum on 18 July 1984 that PCF representatives would not participate in the new government formed, at F. Mitterrand's request, by the socialist L. Fabius. At the same time, the PCF declared its readiness to support any positive measure in accordance with the pledges adopted in 1981.

It is not the purpose of this article to analyze the reasons which prompted the PCF not to participate in the government. We will merely point out that factors of a socioeconomic nature -- particularly the government's policy, rejected by the Communist Party, of "austerity," of growing unemployment, falling living standards, and cutbacks in entire sectors of industry -- are evidently the chief cause of the virtual collapse of the left-wing government coalition. At the same time, let us note that the steady stream of concessions to Atlanticism by the Socialist leaders and their desire to give a certain support to NATO's militaristic course in the international arena were also creating constant tension in the government coalition. In addition, an "ideological war," unleashed by right-wing forces, is constantly being waged against the PCF, and even certain members of the PS leadership participate in it. Anticomunist campaigns have intensified in recent years; their chief aim, as was pointed out at the PCF Central Committee plenum in January 1984, is to create a situation in the country which would render impossible any cooperation between communists and socialists, strike a blow against the worker and democratic movement, and isolate the Communist Party. One of the aims of these campaigns is also to weaken the antiwar movement in France and the PCF's role in this movement.

Another complexity of the political situation is that, under conditions of the exacerbation of the class struggle, contradictory processes are taking place in the worker movement itself. Conscious of the growing nuclear threat, the majority of French workers advocate preserving and strengthening peace, implementing an independent, peace-loving policy in France, and ending the nuclear arms race. At the same time, because of growing pressure from both the bourgeoisie and social democracy, opportunist elements who take a social-chauvinist stand in issues of war and peace have become active in the worker and democratic movements. Finally, a certain section of workers and representatives of petty bourgeois strata -- a section susceptible to the influence of bourgeois propaganda -- takes a passive stand on the antiwar movement.

Both reactionary circles and the socialists are constantly making attempts to lead the Communist Party to abandon the revolutionary principles of the party of the working class, including those on questions of war and peace. Under cover of calls to "update" the party, they are trying to secure a revision of PCF policy on such fundamental problems as the attitude toward real socialism and are questioning the PCF's internationalist stand with regard to the Afghan revolution, socialist Poland, and so forth. The PCF's enemies are trying to suggest to it the idea that it can supposedly strengthen its influence and its ties with the masses only by "distancing" itself from the countries of real socialism. The matter has gone so far that they have begun openly demanding that the communists break with the Soviet Union, as well as abandon the principles of democratic centralism and essentially renounce the principles of the party of the working class and recognize the right to factional activity.

The pressure on the Communist Party by right-wing circles and social democracy is clearly designed to destabilize the party and influence the development of the all-party debate begun by decision of the PCF Central Committee in connection with the 25th PCF Congress scheduled for February 1985.

By quitting the government under these complex, contradictory conditions, the PCF is seeking to strengthen its unity and its influence with the masses, to display an independent approach to questions of international policy, and to play the role of a combat vanguard in the French working people's actions for peace, disarmament, and France's implementation of an independent foreign policy. And it is no coincidence that there has literally not been one PCF Central Committee plenum since the 24th PCF Congress which did not discuss questions of PCF policy on major international questions. These questions also constantly occupy an important place in the speeches of PCF General Secretary G. Marchais and other members of the PCF leadership. The PCF party press, particularly the newspaper L'HUMANITE, plays an active role in exposing U.S. and NATO policy and in mobilizing the popular masses for the struggle against the nuclear threat and for peace and disarmament. The PCF also uses the platform of parliament and many other opportunities to expound its principled positions.

Independent activity in questions of the struggle for peace and disarmament and for France's independent foreign policy based on class principles, active participation in the antiwar movement, and loyal cooperation with other public forces in this sphere -- these are the main directions of PCF activity with regard to international questions. In this, of course, the PCF could not disregard the actual situation and its own potential both in the government majority and in the country as a whole.

The PCF and Real Socialism

One of the chief questions at the center of the acute ideological struggle in modern France is THE QUESTION OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARD REAL SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. By subjecting the socialist countries to fierce attacks and proclaiming the "collapse of socialism" for the umpteenth time, reactionary forces are trying not only to undermine socialism's influence in the world but also to "scare" their countries' working people away from the ideas of socialism and to weaken and isolate the Communist Party.

The evaluations which Lenin gave in the article "The Honest Voice of the French Socialist" in 1915 are very timely in this regard. "Our enemies shout about the collapse of socialism," Lenin cites from a brochure by the French socialist-internationalist Paul Goley. "That what is dying at the present time is not socialism in general, but a version of socialism, a socialism up to its ears in amicable agreements with capitalism, a socialism merely engaged in some reforms, which has sold its birthright for a mess of pottage, a socialism which to the bourgeoisie represents a stifler of the people's impatience and a kind of automatic brake on bold proletarian actions."⁶

The PCF is doing a great deal of work to unite the French worker movement with the ideas of socialism. The PCF has always been characterized by a combination of persistent actions in support of the working people's urgent demands with the struggle for socialism as a strategic goal. And in recent years French communists have considerably stepped up their search for the most effective means and methods of the struggle for socialism with regard for both the aggregate experience of the international worker movement and for France's national and historical peculiarities. And even though not all the results of this search are undisputed and corroborated by existing experience, on the whole the PCF orients working people to struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism on a class, internationalist basis.

PCF policy with regard to real socialism is based on the principles of internationalist solidarity and on the desire to evaluate objectively or, as was stated at the 24th PCF Congress, "without bias or prejudice" the socialist countries' contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress, without oversimplifying or embroidering the realities of those countries, and regarding the building of socialism as a lengthy historical process.

The 24th PCF Congress documents call socialism mankind's great achievement and the chief guarantee of peace. French communists emphasize that PCF policy is based on regard for the realities of the modern world and on the change which has occurred in the ratio of forces in favor of socialism, peace, and national independence. "It would be tantamount to suicide to forget this and to seek to isolate our struggle from the struggle of other forces which are against capitalism and for socialism."⁷

The PCF notes that imperialism has not succeeded in breaking the main trend -- which favors socialism -- in the development of the ratio of forces in the world, and that imperialism's aggressiveness is not a sign of its strength but a sign of its profound crisis, but that this does not lessen the danger of the arms race it has unleashed. In its actions and appraisals the PCF proceeds from the fact that the socialist countries and the Soviet Union play a primary role in averting nuclear war, in insuring peaceful coexistence, and in lending support to the peoples' liberation movement.

"Socialism has become a world reality. . ." the decisions of the 24th PCF Congress state. "Building it is not proceeding without problems and without errors, but the influence which the socialist countries are exerting on changes in the world is already decisive and will increase. . . It is thanks

primarily to this influence, together with their efforts in the military sphere in response to imperialism's furious arms race, that we have been able to live for 36 years without world wars. For hundreds of millions of men and women who continue to experience the domination of imperialism, the socialist countries are a mainstay in the struggle for national liberation, economic independence, and social emancipation. Socialism's contribution to mankind's progress is thus indisputable."⁸

When Reagan and his subordinates mounted a "crusade" against socialism and the Soviet Union, French communists took up a stance of effective solidarity with socialist countries and are decisively rebuffing slanderous attacks against real socialism and the Soviet Union's policy. French communists have supported many Soviet initiatives on the issues of military detente and disarmament, for example, proposals to conclude treaties on the nonutilization of force, reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security, a mutual Soviet and American nuclear weapons freeze, the creation of nuclear-free zones, the principles of relations between nuclear powers, prevention of an arms race in space, prohibiting and eliminating chemical weapons, and others.

"These proposals coincide with our own struggle for peace, disarmament, the security of states and peoples, and a world without weapons or wars,"⁹ said G. Marchais at an international solidarity rally during the work of the 24th PCF Congress, in which a CPSU delegation led by K.U. Chernenko took part.

Essentially, the PCF press is the only source of true information on the Soviet Union in France. It regularly publishes objective information about the CPSU's peace-loving policy and the achievements and problems of the developed socialist society, and reports on how Soviet people live and work. In recent years, French journalists have published many books and reports describing the Soviet people's life today and the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy in the current phase and exposing the slander of socialism's enemies.

The PCF constantly rebuffs various manifestations of anti-Sovietism in France, stressing that anti-Sovietism is not merely a means of the reactionary struggle against the Soviet Union and its policy, but also a means of the struggle by right-wing forces against the worker movement and its militant vanguard -- the communist parties in capitalist countries.

While developing an original path toward socialism which takes account of France's special features, French communists at the same time attentively study various aspects of the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and note its great importance for the theoretical and practical work of communist parties in capitalist countries. "This experience in all its aspects," said G. Marchais, "stimulates and enriches our world outlook and our struggle."¹⁰

PCF delegations make regular trips to the Soviet Union to study the present stage of experience in building socialism. For example, in July of this year a PCF delegation visited the USSR to study the CPSU's activity with respect to comprehensive solutions to problems of scientific-technical progress and the social development of socialist society.¹¹ The PCF Central Committee

Institute for Marxist Research also conducts research work on the experience of real socialism. On its initiative, a scientific colloquium devoted to various aspects of the experience of real socialism was held in May 1983.¹²

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of Paris and on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany, French communists are noting the Soviet Union's key role in fascism's defeat and exposing reactionary maneuvers aimed at falsifying history and consigning the lessons of World War II to oblivion. The PCF is in solidarity with the struggle of the Soviet Union and other countries for compliance with the results of World War II and observance of postwar borders and against attempts to question the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and the postwar territorial and political arrangement in Europe. As K.U. Chernenko noted regarding the aforementioned attempts, in a speech during President Mitterrand's visit to the USSR in June 1984, "It is an extremely dangerous business. We have always had a mutual understanding with France on this basic question. One should like to hope that this will continue."¹³

The well-known events in Poland at the beginning of the 1980's were a serious test for French communists. Despite an unprecedented campaign mounted by reactionary circles and certain leaders of the Socialist Party against Poland and the Soviet Union, THE PCF TOOK A RESPONSIBLE STANCE IMBUED WITH CONCERN FOR THE FATE OF SOCIALIST POLAND AND PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. Displaying a class, internationalist approach and without yielding to provocation, the communists are exposing imperialist interference in Poland's internal affairs, stressing that the "Solidarity" counterrevolutionaries and their foreign patrons bear the main responsibility for deterioration of the situation in Poland. The PCF condemned the discriminatory measures vis-a-vis Poland and the USSR announced by Reagan and demanded that the United States and other NATO countries stop interfering in the Polish people's affairs. The Communist Party called on the French authorities to refrain from any actions which might complicate the situation in Poland and lead to the creation in Europe of a seat of tension and conflicts.

"The great majority of French working people have not yielded to the attempts to revive the spirit of 'crusade' and the cold war in our country," G. Marchais wrote to PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] First Secretary Jaruzelski at the height of the anti-Polish campaign in France. "They have been able to demonstrate their profound friendship toward Poland and its working people, displaying a sense of responsibility which expresses genuine solidarity in the present situation."¹⁴

French working people are by no means indifferent to the fate of Polish working people and the Polish people. On the contrary. G. Marchais wrote, "They wish that blood not be shed, and that the country overcome the hardships which have befallen it as soon as possible; this is precisely why they rejected the appeals by extremists and defeated the supporters of adventurism in France, those who are pushing for civil war in Poland and for internationalization of the Polish problem."¹⁵

Many times French communists have been able to draw on their own experience to convince themselves that internationalism has not only never prevented the

communists from consolidating their positions and influence among the working people, as the class enemy and the opportunists claim, but, on the contrary, it has helped to enhance the party's prestige and to make its struggle even more effective and aggressive. The organic unity of patriotism and internationalism has been and remains an important source of the PCF's strength and influence.

LONG-ESTABLISHED BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY LINK THE SOVIET AND FRENCH COMMUNISTS. The positions of the CPSU and PCF on the fundamental issues of our time and their evaluations of the international situation coincide; this has been repeatedly confirmed at meetings between delegations from the two parties, in particular at the July 1983 party summit meeting.

The CPSU and the PCF operate under different conditions, which may and at times does create a different approach toward some questions. But, as the two parties believe, "differences in positions and existing discrepancies cannot be an obstacle to their cooperation in attaining basic goals which they have in common, and in particular the struggle for peace, disarmament, international cooperation, and international solidarity with communist parties and all forces of social and national liberation."¹⁶

For the Reduction of Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament

The struggle to reduce nuclear arms to the lowest level possible and for disarmament is one of the permanent goals of PCF policy. "Our position is clear," G. Marchais said. "Peace is a goal of paramount importance for us, and we believe that it must be guaranteed via disarmament rather than by means of an equilibrium which is steadily pursued at ever-higher levels."¹⁷

Exposing international imperialism's aggressive policy, the PCF rejects the false thesis disseminated by Atlanticists about "equal responsibility" for the arms race and the increased nuclear threat. Due to the persistent efforts of the communists, the French public has become better aware of where the real source of the nuclear threat lies and who bears responsibility for the fact that the tension in the world has reached a dangerous level. This, in turn, involves broader masses in the movement against the nuclear arms race and for peace and security in Europe. The French public was not deceived by Reagan's hypocritical declarations that the appearance of new U.S. missiles in Europe does not change anything. At a time when the socialists and the right-wing parties repeatedly talk about a "Soviet threat" and "breach of military parity in Europe to the USSR's advantage," the communists use sound arguments, facts, and figures to expose this lie and to stress the danger for France and all Europe in the deployment of new U.S. missiles in the FRG, Italy, and Britain.

For a long time the French communists have been against arming France with nuclear weapons and in favor of insuring its independence and security through the struggle for peace, detente, and disarmament. "At present, France's participation in the nuclear 'balance of terror,'" the 1971 PCF government program said, "no matter how destructive the strength of the French 'strike force' may be, is very dangerous, especially bearing in mind its relatively limited national territory and its population density. The only way to avoid the destruction of France by a nuclear war is to prevent this war from

starting." At the time the French communists considered that "the nuclear strike force is dangerous, useless, and ruinous for the country."¹⁹ In 1977, however, the PCF changed its attitude toward the nuclear weapons France possesses. Referring to the assertion that in present-day conditions they are necessary to insure the country's effective defense, at the PCF Central Committee May 1977 Plenum the party came out in favor of keeping the nuclear weapons and possibly using them "in all directions," in other words, against any possible aggressor. The PCF declared that it advocated an independent French policy in the nuclear arms sphere and opposed their subordination to NATO strategy and the country's return to the NATO military organization. At the same time, the PCF put forth a whole range of proposals on questions of disarmament and the nuclear arms ban, advocating a more constructive French stance in the disarmament sphere.

The PCF leadership has repeatedly confirmed this stance since then. The party considers that the French nuclear forces cannot now be the subject of talks aimed at their reduction, but that this issue could be raised at a certain moment, under conditions of gradual disarmament insuring the equilibrium of forces in Europe and all over the world and each country's security.

In recent times, since 1981, the communist deputies in the National Assembly have voted for military credits to further develop and modernize France's nuclear weapons. They also voted for the 1984-1988 military program, envisaging further build-up of nuclear weapons and other types of arms to a total value of 830 billion francs. At the same time, in contrast with the stance of official French circles on this issue, the PCF advocates that French and British nuclear forces be counted when calculating the total balance of forces in Europe. This position was clearly expressed, in particular, in the joint declaration by the CPSU and PCF delegations, adopted in July 1983 as a result of the summit meeting of CPSU and PCF leaders.

The PCF advocates THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT AND THE STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME THE BACKWARDNESS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, INSURE EQUITABLE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, AND SOLVE GLOBAL PROBLEMS. The enormous expenditures on the arms race are becoming especially intolerable in light of the depth of poverty and backwardness to which peoples in many countries in the world are doomed as a result of imperialism's policy. The 24th PCF Congress cited the following facts: 800 million people in today's world live under conditions of extreme privations. At least 500 million are always hungry. Each year 50 million people, including 15-18 million children, die of starvation. The number of unemployed in the developing countries alone is in excess of 1 billion.²⁰ The PCF is constantly working to explain to the masses the harsh social consequences of the arms race and the need to "dedicate to life the funds that are being squandered on death."

Emphasizing that peace and peoples' security cannot be based on a "balance of terror" and that there is no sensible alternative to detente and peaceful coexistence, the PCF devotes a great deal of attention to THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. Forces do exist in the world which are capable of safeguarding and strengthening peace and insuring positive advances along the road to disarmament, the French communists note. "The existence of these forces, differing in their composition, slogans, and forms of action but

united in their desire for peace and disarmament, constitutes a new historic phenomenon and a new chance for mankind," G. Marchais said.²¹ The PCF itself is an active and dynamic force in the French antiwar movement. "Not to participate in this movement while the arms race is threatening to lead to a nuclear conflict would be an unforgivable mistake," the PCF emphasizes,²² expressing its readiness to develop, within the framework of the movement for peace and disarmament, cooperation with the broadest political and public forces, including the Socialists and Social-Democrats, and to establish on a national and international scale a broad front of the struggle against war.

The PCF was one of the initiators of the April 1980 Paris meeting of European communist and worker parties for peace and disarmament, which helped establish the active role played by communist parties in this vitally important sphere and gave a new boost to the antiwar movement in European countries. Speaking at that meeting, M. Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee, spoke in favor of "uniting as many people as possible, exploiting every opportunity to unite in the struggle, even for limited purposes, and using any proposal regardless of its origin as long as it furthers progress in the cause of peace and disarmament on a fair basis."²³

In recent years the antiwar and antimissile movement in France has been developing, in particular, on the basis of the initiative of a large group of eminent politicians and public figures ("L'Appel des Cent"), which also features PCF representatives. This group is headed by Georges Seguy, formerly general secretary of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and an eminent figure in the French worker movement. On the initiative of "L'Appel des Cent" movement, mass demonstrations have been repeatedly held in France for peace, nuclear arms reduction, and France's conduct of an independent foreign policy. Thus, in June 1983 a mass demonstration was held in Paris in which about 500,000 people from all corners of the country took part. Its participants adopted an appeal calling for an end to the nuclear arms race. In October 1983, at the appeal of the peace movement, hundreds of thousands of working people in the country took part in demonstrations and rallies under the slogans of the struggle for disarmament and against the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe. The "peace relays" held in all the major cities showed that the antiwar movement in France continues to grow.

In March 1984 French peace supporters organized an international meeting of scientific and cultural workers in Paris devoted to the problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament.

A major new demonstration by French working people in support of an end to the nuclear and conventional weapons race and disarmament and against the threat of nuclear war was held in Paris, at the appeal of the "Group of 100," on 28 October 1984 within the framework of U.N. Disarmament Week. It is worth noting that more and more strata of the French people are participating in the antiwar movement; these include servicemen, certain Catholic circles, many scientific and cultural figures, civil servants, and others. And although the Socialist Party leadership refuses to participate in this movement, many rank and file socialists support it and are taking part in antiwar demonstrations.

The potential and promise of the antiwar movement in France are still far from exhausted, French communists stress in explaining to the public the need for still more large mass demonstrations.

For an Independent Foreign Policy for the Country and Franco-Soviet Cooperation

France perhaps more than any other Western country cultivates a view of foreign policy and diplomacy as the affair of the "select few" and the "hallowed ground" of a narrow circle of statesmen, above all the president of the republic. Communists advocate that the French working class and working people be able to influence the shaping of foreign policy more actively and that the most important decisions on international issues be made out in the open with participation by all democratic and people's forces rather than behind the French people's backs. The Communist Party demands that democratic changes should also touch the foreign policy sphere, which should not be left to the political elite, much less at such a complex and critical time.

French working people are concerned that the deployment of U.S. missiles which has started in Western Europe has caused a considerable activation of Atlanticist circles in France, which are attempting gradually to get the country in step with NATO policy, the policy of creating the so-called joint defense of the EEC countries.

These new maneuvers are being resolutely opposed by the Communist Party, which now as in the past is not only the most active participant in the antiwar movement but is also energetically defending its country's national security. Exposing plans to create a "political Europe" and a new version of a "European defense community," the PCF notes that these plans are a serious threat both to the interests of peace and security and to France's national independence.

"We will never agree to discard our autonomous national defense, subordinate French nuclear forces to the NATO bloc, allow the FRG access to nuclear weapons, or integrate France into NATO's military organization," G. Marchais stated in an interview with the magazine REVOLUTION.²⁴

When they became part of the government majority the Communists by no means joined forces with the Socialists on foreign policy questions, and systematically criticized various foreign policy actions by the government and President Mitterrand. Thus, after the Williamsburg meeting of the main Western heads of states (1983) at which a declaration couched in a spirit of "Atlantic solidarity" was adopted, the PCF leadership stated that the decisions adopted there were dangerous and could restrict the freedom of action France had insured for itself by leaving NATO's military organization in 1966. The PCF also stated that by signing the Williamsburg declaration France had to all intents and purposes taken responsibility for the NATO "arms upgrading" decision and therefore had to participate in the medium-range nuclear arms limitation talks. At its 24th congress the French communists came out against the policy of blocs and advocated their simultaneous dissolution. "Our main principle," the congress documents say, "is to reject French subordination to anyone in any form both now and in the future."²⁵

The PCF is mobilizing working people to deliver a decisive rebuff to U.S. interference in French internal affairs and NATO efforts to involve France in the policy of a "crusade" against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It was to a large extent as a result of the working class's active interference and the PCF's and CGT's firm position that, for example, the Reagan administration's efforts to prohibit certain branches of U.S. firms in France from supplying the Soviet Union with equipment for the gas pipeline were frustrated. The Communist Party is urging working people to show vigilance with regard to the "American party's" intrigues, in particular among pseudoleftist circles. In early 1984 the Communists made a resolute protest against the abusive attacks on communist ministers made by the U.S. Ambassador in Paris. In response to a PCF demand, the U.S. Ambassador was summoned to Premier Mauroy, who made a political representation to the ambassador.

Despite the fierce campaign of slander and pressure unleashed in France by reactionary forces with the participation of certain official circles and the leadership of the Socialist Party in connection with the well-known events in Afghanistan, from the outset the Communist Party has taken a class, internationalist stance with regard to the Afghan revolution and Soviet assistance to Democratic Afghanistan. As G. Marchais said at an international solidarity rally attended by a CPSU delegation headed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, organized during the 24th PCF Congress, "We do not divorce the political struggle we are waging in France from our efforts in support of international solidarity with all revolutionary and progressive forces. It is one of the most noble traditions of our party, bequeathed to us by the older generation of party fighters. And today, more than ever before, we intend to be their heirs, those who directly carry on their cause."²⁶

The PCF is vigorously advocating THE DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS COOPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE SOVIET UNION and is doing a great deal to strengthen friendship between the French and Soviet people, rightly seeing this friendship and cooperation as one of the most important factors of peace and security in Europe and in the world at large. At the height of the anti-Soviet campaign in France in late 1979, the PCF proposed the conclusion of a French-Soviet mutual security treaty.

In present conditions the French communists support making French-Soviet cooperation more dynamic, noting that the French side has by no means done all it can to achieve this. "Understand me correctly," G. Marchais said, "General de Gaulle was able to strengthen cooperation between our two countries within the framework of what he called a 'great and splendid alliance.' No one would understand now -- irrespective of an assessment of the socialist system in its present form -- if a government of left-wing forces. . . allowed this cooperation to break down. It would be damaging to France."²⁷

Communists praised President Mitterrand's visit to the USSR in June 1984; Transport Minister C. Fiterman, a communist, was in the official French delegation.

Despite the intrigues of the opponents of detente in France and their efforts to complicate French-Soviet relations, the PCF is struggling to place these relations on a firmer, long-term basis in the economic and political spheres.

As the joint statement by the CPSU and PCF delegations, adopted in July 1983, notes, "Accord, friendship, and cooperation between the French and Soviet peoples and between France and the USSR serve the cause of peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole. . . New opportunities exist for even greater development of this cooperation."²⁸

Now that people all over the world are preparing to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany, the historic lessons of World War II are particularly timely. And one of them -- Soviet-French cooperation and friendship between the peoples of our countries -- remains one of the most important factors of peace, security, and equilibrium in Europe. This cooperation has never been a "one-way street." It always has been and still is mutually advantageous, bringing tangible benefit to both countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical, and other spheres. There are many examples of this: the space flight by the Soviet-French crew, cooperation in developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the "contract of the century" to supply Soviet gas to France, and much else.

As French communists have noted, "The whole of history and the present day show that in order to be free, peaceful, and respected, and in order to work successfully for security in Europe, France must maintain relations of trust and cooperation with the Soviet Union."²⁹

The French worker movement is going through an exceedingly complex and crucial period. As part of the government majority, the Communist Party encountered great difficulties and the number of votes cast for its candidates at the elections to the "European Parliament" fell to 11 percent. The party is continuing its active precongress discussion of the reasons for the waning influence of the party and of strategy and policy in the years to come. Much will depend on the French communists' answers to these questions. At any rate both historical experience and the present day demonstrate that in the most difficult conditions success is possible only by conducting a class policy, by being loyal to the interests of the working class and internationalism.

In the complex and contradictory domestic and international situation the PCF continues to play an active, vanguard role in the French working people's struggle for peace and disarmament and against the nuclear threat and imperialism's aggressive intrigues. Despite all efforts by the class enemy and by social democracy to influence the PCF's policy, it occupies a class, internationalist stance on fundamental international problems and it is making a considerable contribution to mobilize and unite French workers and democratic forces in the struggle for peace and against the arms race based on the principles of equality and equal security and against the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. The French communists are strengthening their ties of internationalist solidarity with all present-day antiimperialist forces and consistently supporting the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples' struggle for their social and national liberation, against all forms of colonialism and racism, and for a new economic order. In a situation where the French government has made a significant shift in the direction of Atlanticism, the PCF is waging a constant struggle to strengthen France's national independence, prevent its policies from being subordinated to NATO strategy, insure France's pursuit of an independent, constructive

policy, and strengthen friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between France and the Soviet Union and between the French and Soviet peoples.

Historical experience shows that the Communist's Party's strength and influence are not measured merely by the number of votes cast for it. Equally significant is the party's ability to preserve and strengthen its political cohesion in the most difficult conditions, to wage a resolute struggle for the cause of the working class, and to be loyal to the ideas of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Communists do not claim a monopoly on the struggle for peace and the interests of the working people. But they are in the vanguard of all democratic and people's forces. As V.I. Lenin said, this leading role is obtained in the long, difficult, day-to-day class struggle: "It is not enough to call oneself the 'vanguard,' the leading detachment; it is also necessary to act in such a way that all other detachments see and are forced to acknowledge that we are marching ahead."³⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. See: L'HUMANITE-DIMANCHE, 18 March 1984.
2. K.U. Chernenko, "Narod i partiya yediny" [The People and the Party Are One], Moscow, 1984, p 24.
3. See: L'HUMANITE, 7 June 1982.
4. "XXIV s'yezd Frantsuzskoy kommunisticheskoy partii" [The 24th French CP Congress], Moscow, 1982, p 149.
5. L'HUMANITE, 24 June 1981.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 27, pp 6-7.
7. "XXIV s'yezd. . . " op. cit., p 67.
8. Ibid., p 145.
9. Ibid., p 102.
10. Ibid., p 59.
11. See: PRAVDA, 10 July 1984.
12. Colloquium materials published in LA PENSEE, November-December 1983.
13. PRAVDA, 22 June 1984.
14. L'HUMANITE, 24 December 1981.

15. L'HUMANITE, 23 December 1981.
16. PRAVDA, 11 January 1980.
17. TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN, 1-7 August 1983.
18. "Programme pour un gouvernement democratique d'union populaire" [Program for a Democratic Government of Popular Unity], Paris, 1971, p 232.
19. G. Marchais, "Le defi democratique" [The Democratic Challenge], Paris, 1973, pp 232-233.
20. See: "XXIV s'yezd. . . " op. cit., p 55.
21. L'HUMANITE, 21 April 1983.
22. Ibid.
23. "Vstrecha kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy za mir i razoruzheniye" [Meeting of the Communist and Worker Parties for Peace and Disarmament], Moscow, 1980, p 98.
24. REVOLUTION, 22-29 March 1984.
25. "XXIV s'yezd. . . " op. cit., p 49.
26. Ibid., p 103.
27. TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN, 1-7 August 1983.
28. PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 15, 1983, p 6.
29. L'HUMANITE, 20 July 1983.
30. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 6, pp 83-84.

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FRG: INCREASING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IN CONTEMPORARY ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

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[Article by A.F. Khramtsov, candidate of historical sciences and scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences International Worker Movement Institute]

[Text] Plans to deploy new American first-strike nuclear missile weapons on FRG territory have caused sharply increased polarization of social forces in the country on problems of war and peace and disarmament. Despite differences in their political views, social position, and religious affiliation, the movement of the fighters for peace has become the most influential and broad general democratic movement in this country's entire history. An increasing number of FRG citizens and social and political organizations are not only expressing their negative attitude toward the aggressive NATO plans but are demonstrating readiness to take a direct part in the struggle against them.

While before the summer of 1982 growth in mass involvement in the West German antiwar movement was to a substantial degree achieved by the rapid expansion of its sociopolitical composition, today the advancement of the working class to leading positions is a qualitative characteristic of this process.¹

This cannot be disregarded even by those bourgeois and social-democratic politicians and ideologists in the FRG who even quite recently were still sparing no efforts to represent things -- depending on their views and preferences -- as if the main source for forming the contemporary antiwar movement's sociopolitical base was the intelligentsia, or representatives of the ecology-alternative movement, or young people, but certainly not the working class. According to their version, the working class stands aside from the movement since NATO's present military-political course supposedly guarantees its security while the expansion of military production guarantees more jobs. The goal of this essentially bourgeois-subjective interpretation of the antiwar movement's sociopolitical base is to alienate it and reinforce the official Bonn thesis that the decision to deploy American missiles is supported by most of the FRG population and above all by the country's working class. However, the very course of events demolishes this thesis.

One of the most important new phenomena in the contemporary antiwar movement in the FRG is the powerful upsurge of the working class's struggle for peace

directly in large enterprises. Plant peace committees first announced themselves at the top of their voices during the Easter 1983 antiwar marches in which at least 800,000 people took part, which was a "record," exceeding the 1982 achievement of 300,000.

While in the fall of 1983 the number of plant peace committees exceeded 200, by the start of 1984 the number was 300. The antiwar movement on the enterprise level reached such broad scope that the first federal conference of plant peace committees became possible in September 1983 in Dortmund. The resolution the conference participants adopted declared a decisive "No!" to the American cruise missiles and Pershing-2's and demanded that the government not make the country the launch site for them. At the same time, they rejected the thesis that increased expenditures for the arms race would lead to a higher employment rate, emphasizing that "work positions are insured through disarmament and reduced work time without a corresponding reduction in wages, thanks to the struggle to realize the employment program advanced by the DGB [German Trade Union Federation]."

In repulsing the attempts of bourgeois mass information media to represent the antiwar activity of enterprise collectives as separate from trade union organization activity, the delegates declared their full support of the DGB's antimissile position. They approved the trade union center's decision to carry out a universal 5-minute warning strike on 5 October in order to express the working class's desire for peace and its opposition to the deployment of new missiles.² The delegates spoke out for organizing closer cooperation between trade unions and other detachments of the antiwar movement.

At the 4th Peace Movement Conference, held in early November 1983 in Cologne, representatives of plant peace committees took an active part in discussing the goals of the national antiwar movement and questions of intensifying antiwar activity at enterprises when the deployment of the "Euromissiles" began.³

The significance of the activity of the plant peace committees is difficult to overestimate. In the first place, because they operate in the heart of the working class and are strong points of the antiwar and above all the antimissile movement. Secondly, because intensified emphasis on the close link between the struggle against the arms race and problems of guaranteeing employment has become a feature of their peace initiatives at enterprises. Thirdly, the DGB and SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] leadership cannot fail to take account in their policy of the aspiration of rank-and-file workers, expressed by the committees, to unite all antiwar forces and coordinate their activities.

More active recruitment of trade unions into the protest movement against the deployment of American missiles on FRG territory has in many respects promoted the DGB leadership's firm withdrawal from support of Reagan's "zero option" and its derivatives as well as the development by the trade union center of a constructive position on the question of interrelations with other detachments of the antiwar movement (instead of its earlier desire to conduct antiwar actions alone, using its own trade union forces exclusively). Reflecting recognition by the trade union masses of the growing threat presented by

Washington's reckless course toward nuclear confrontation, this reversal in DGB policy was consolidated in the decisions of the West Berlin congress of trade union associations in May 1982 and found its embodiment in the subsequent practical actions of trade unions. For example, in Munich alone, 400 members of production councils, proxies, and representatives of youth at enterprises signed an appeal to conduct an antiwar demonstration and rally in Bonn on 10 June 1982. A record number of people for that time participated -- about 400,000, including 100,000 DGB members.⁴ DGB activities on the 1 September 1982 international day of trade union actions for peace were also more massive than formerly.

These and other actions of the organized forces of the working class were distinguished by the fact that their participants no longer limited themselves, as they had earlier, to making general antiwar demands; instead they made specific demands applicable to the changing political situation, protesting against the deployment of new medium-range American missiles, the NATO Brussels decision, the neutron bomb, R. Reagan's policy of confrontation, and his attempts to stop deals exchanging natural gas for pipe. In many places there have been fruitful discussions of the mutual relations of the antiwar movement and the trade union movement in the country. The influence of large-scale actions by peace forces on the trade unions has also been noted in all of this.

New points in DGB policy have also had a fundamental impact on the positions of those sectorial trade unions which have traditionally stood on the right flank of the organization; these include points on problems of war and peace. In particular, the congress of the construction workers' trade union (in October 1982) called on the federal government to retract its preliminary consent to deployment of American nuclear missile weapons on the country's territory. Delegates of the congress emphasized that from now on there should not be any "more decisions that put trade unions and trade union youth in the position of observers, since the situation demands that we fight together and participate in demonstrations for peace and disarmament."⁵

The "Trade Union Youth" organization conference held in March 1983 in Cologne served as the first extensive meeting of representatives of antiwar and trade union movements for jointly discussing plans for the struggle for peace. Participating in it were 200 representatives of DGB member trade unions and an equal number from organizations of the antiwar movement, churches, parties, the federal government, the Bundeswehr, and the federal youth group (the national association of nonparty youth organizations -- author). I. Bruzis, a member of the DGB federal board of directors, gave the main report. She called the DGB's demand to refuse to deploy the new medium-range missiles in Europe a "zero-option decision" of the trade union center and appealed to the federal government to consider the interests of the German people and their desire to prevent Europe from becoming the battlefield of the "super powers." From the podium of this conference, the DGB leadership addressed member organizations with an appeal to develop broad debate on disarmament problems.⁶

The trade unions' response can be judged at least by the fact that, taking part in the May 1st celebration a month later, they celebrated this day of international proletarian solidarity for the first time under very militant

antiwar slogans. Speaking at demonstrations, prominent figures of the trade union movement expressed their opposition to the deployment of new nuclear missile weapons on FRG territory. But then the idea of a general strike against the deployment of the American missiles began to take possession of broad trade union circles. It was supported by delegates of the trade union of workers of the arts and participants in meetings and conferences of the metal worker trade union in Nuernberg, Stuttgart, Heilbronn, and Duisburg, the district congress of the printing trade union of the state of Hessen, the district congress of the postal workers' trade union of the same state, and others. In particular, the resolution of the latter congress said: "A general strike is a means of fighting to fulfill the main demands of all hired workers. But the demand to guarantee the right to live in conditions of peace is the most important of them both for the postal workers' trade union and for the DGB as a whole. Germany has survived 10 years of war in this century but general strikes have lasted only a few weeks. Twice the worker movement did not succeed in preventing war but now every effort must be made to do so."⁷

Although the DGB federal committee did reject the idea of a general strike at its meeting in Essen in June 1983, three weeks later a representative of this trade union center, E. Brait, nevertheless gave the "green light" to preparations to participate -- within the framework of the "passionate fall" -- in the mass demonstrations against deployment of the new American missiles, and the DGB board of directors supported the basic demands of the antiwar movement at its July meeting. This also touched the refusal to deploy new American missiles, the nuclear arms freeze, and the conclusion of an agreement not to use force, and so on. At the same time the board of directors adopted a decision on DGB participation on 22 October --the final day of the week of actions for peace and disarmament -- in important protest measures against deployment of the missiles. Thus the trend toward rapprochement and cooperation between the antiwar and the worker movements gathered strength.⁸

As for the idea of a general strike, its adherents soon won out in the DGB leadership, although at the price of some compromise. The essence of it was that the workers were called on to carry out a warning work stoppage in all FRG enterprises for 5 minutes on 5 October 1983 at 1155, as a sign of protest against the deployment of the new missiles in Europe. In explaining the significance of this action on the evening before, E. Brait stated that in carrying it out, "we appeal to the partners in negotiations in Geneva to force them to successfully complete negotiations. And we want to emphasize that we demand that the number of all medium-range missiles deployed in Europe or intended for Europe be reduced and that the deployment of new weapons in our country be rejected as well."⁹ At the same time he praised the willingness of the USSR to begin reducing arms and favored consideration of English and French medium-range missiles at the Geneva negotiations. From this we see that although the 5-minute warning work stoppage was formally presented as a means of influencing the United States and the USSR, which was a tribute to the treacherous idea imposed by bourgeois propaganda that the Soviet Union no less than the United States is to blame for the arms race, it was in fact directed against U.S. policy and those supporting its forces in the FRG.

The communists praised this action of the DGB. H. Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, wrote: "While formerly many people expressed regret

tht the DGB federal board of directors limited themselves to the appeal to workers and employees entitled 'It is already five minutes to twelve!' asking them to stop working for only 5 minutes, they now understand that these 5 minutes of stopping work in most large and many average and small enterprises and the halting of traffic in our country's major cities developed into the most massive peace demonstration in the FRG up to this point. This was a demonstration of the working class in unified action. This act will help further develop the struggle for peace at enterprises and in cities."¹⁰

The active participation of an enormous number of organized workers in demonstrations during the week of the struggle for peace and disarmament of 15-22 October 1983 -- about 3 million people took part -- convinced them by their own experience how nation-wide the antiwar protest had become.

The decisions which were made in October-November 1983 by congresses of metal worker, printing, and postal trade unions and workers in the science and education spheres, who account for 43 percent of the members of the DGB, once again demonstrated the resolution of the trade union movement to oppose the dangerous plans of militaristic forces in the country.

On the eve of the vote in the Bundestag on the issue of the deployment of new missiles, the DGB board of directors addressed the supreme legislative organ with an urgent appeal to decide to reject this dangerous step. The board justifiably pointed out: "Taking into the account the growing threat of war in different parts of the world, the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe would whip up the arms race and make peace less secure."¹¹

Trade unions took an active part in the mass actions of antiwar protest on 21-22 November 1983 when "missile" debates took place within the walls of the Bundestag. Thus, on the appeal of the local DGB organization, in Nuernberg 10,000 people went out on the streets as a sign of protest against the deployment of the missiles. At the antiwar meeting in Kaiserslautern the chairman of the state DGB organization of Rheinland-Pfalz, U. Lelbach, cautioned the authorities against agreeing to the deployment of the missiles, stating that it would mean that the American president would be able to "turn Germany into an atomic battlefield when American interests demanded it."¹² Numerous purely trade union rallies also took place. The very position of the trade unions in these black days in FRG history already confirms that they will firmly adhere to their own antimissile course.

Trade unions were one of the initiators for conducting the first two days of national opposition to the missile deployment: 12 December 1983 -- on the fourth anniversary of the adoption of the NATO Brussels decision, and 30 January 1984 -- on the anniversary of the fascist take-over, with rallies and demonstrations in 300 of the country's cities under the slogan "No More Fascism -- No More War. Down With Nuclear Missiles!"

Even when the trade union faced the problems of the struggle to reduce the work week without a corresponding reduction in wages in all their magnitude within the framework of negotiations on renewing collective contracts, trade union antiwar activity still continued to be a notable phenomenon in the country's political life. This was confirmed in a speech by the DGB chairman,

E. Brait, in February 1984 in Travemunde before the supreme command body of the Bundeswehr, where he stated that the policy of deterrence practiced up to that point had reached an impasse, that a turn toward mutual trust and rapprochement was needed, and that NATO activity was hurting detente.¹³

The Easter marches which took place in April 1984 throughout the entire country with more than 600,000 people participating were clear evidence of the increasingly active involvement of trade unions in the work to protect peace. And everywhere trade union activists joined the columns of antimissile demonstrations and marches under the slogans "Atomic Death Threatens All of Us!" and "Work Instead of Missiles!" In evaluating the results of these mass popular demonstrations, the Plenum of the German CP governing board emphasized that rightist circles had not managed -- and this was absolutely apparent -- to stop the antiwar movement. Moreover, the movement made a qualitative leap forward in its development thanks to the activization of the antimissile activity of trade unions, social democrats, and plant peace committees. It was noted that there had never before been such close cooperation between the antiwar and worker movements as during the 1984 Easter marches.¹⁴

In this way, as the course of events shows, the trade union movement in the FRG is increasingly successful in realizing the antiwar potential the DGB has. The development of processes occurring in the DGB permits the conclusion that the activization of its antiwar activity and the expansion of cooperation in the contemporary peace movement are long-term in nature and are not decreasing as the new American first-strike missiles are deployed. Moreover, the fundamental change in SPD positions on issues of "arms upgrading" which occurred at its extraordinary Cologne Congress in November 1983 gave new impetus to the DGB's accelerated development in a positive direction.

The effectiveness of the antiwar movement in the FRG depends to no small degree on the response it finds in the most popular political organization of workers, the SPD which on the party level represents the reformist wing of the worker movement in the country. It should be noted that the speeches of opponents of "arms upgrading" in the party were restrained for a time: before the fall of 1982, by the SPD's participation in the government; and after that, by its aspiration when possible to preserve its positions in the Bundestag as a result of the extraordinary elections of 6 March 1983. In these conditions even such prominent figures of the left wing of the SPD as the members of the party's governing board, O. Lafontaine and E. Eppler, frequently subjected their statements to strict self-censorship in order to create the appearance of party unity on the missile question.

Nonetheless, after the SPD defeat in these elections, its position on questions of missile deployment and cooperation with the antiwar movement began to change rapidly. Already by late March 1983, the presidium of the SPD governing board had adopted a decision to support the spring peace marches for the first time in many years. Naturally, this could not fail to stimulate the further growth of social democratic antiwar activity. A vigorous debate began in the party on revising its attitude toward the NATO Brussels decision and toward the antiwar movement. Large district party organizations more and more frequently aligned themselves at their congresses with the SPD youth organizations, who from the very beginning had fought against the deployment

of medium-range nuclear missile weapons, and as the extraordinary 1983 SPD congress approached, state organizations did so as well.

About 290 drafts of resolutions of local, district, and state party organizations which dealt with questions of peace and security and which said "no" to the deployment of new atomic missiles in the FRG arrived addressed to the congress. Even the draft of the resolution of the SPD governing board emphasized that "the prevention of war as a party goal above all demands departing from the course of nuclear confrontation which whips up the arms race to an increasingly more dangerous level. This course must be replaced by the policy and strategy of partnership in the name of security."¹⁵

The Cologne SPD Congress ended with a substantially larger defeat of the adherents of "arms upgrading" in the party than was anticipated. Only 14 of 400 delegates voted for the missile deployment. Among them were former Chancellor Schmidt and the former ministers of the Bonn cabinet, Apel, Leber, Matthaefner, and Vishnevski. There was a great response to the speech by E. Eppler, SPD governing board member, in which he said: "There will be no peace while these missiles are here."¹⁶

It is generally known that with a shift to opposition, social democracy usually moves to the left. Nonetheless, the significance of the SPD reversal on this urgent question of military policy can be fully evaluated if it is recalled that it occurred in conditions when the party's left wing was very fundamentally weakened as a result of repression of its members, the departure of a number of prominent social democrats from the party, and the reduced numbers of intraparty opposition centers -- the youth organization, "Young Socialists in the SPD" -- because of a general decline in its attractiveness to young people.

It is true that for some time after the Cologne Congress, the impression could be created that problems of foreign and military policy had already been relegated from SPD intraparty debate to the background. Nonetheless, the polemics which developed before the party congress in Essen in May 1984 showed that this was far from true. Questions of the policy of guaranteeing security became paramount at regional SPD congresses. Lively debate developed around the draft of the resolution of the SPD federal governing board which determined the framework within which the work of the governing board's commission on the policy for guaranteeing security could take place.

On the whole the draft was distinguished by noticeable contradiction. Among other things, it asserted that military strategy and arms policy could serve to frighten the enemy. On the other hand, the "partnership in the interests of security" mentioned above is called the foundation of the peaceful order in Europe. The draft rejected the idea of the possibility of conducting limited nuclear war and at the same time acknowledged nuclear armament as a fundamental necessity. The leaders of social democracy emphasized their aspiration to develop NATO strategy in such a way as to counteract political confrontation and the growth of the arms race. However, the draft substantiated the necessity of the previous policy of the allies -- until a new strategy could be developed. The authors of the draft proposed a number of goals of a positive nature, in particular the elimination of medium-range

and tactical-range nuclear missiles in Europe or intended for Europe. Nonetheless, it includes no statements on how to achieve these goals if they contradict the interests of the American administration.

However, two documents distributed for debate in the SPD gave a certain explanation on this account. Acknowledgement of the fact that the debate developed by the antiwar movement on the deployment of nuclear missile weapons destroyed the consensus which supposedly formerly existed in the society on questions of guaranteeing security is the meeting ground of the two documents. The goal of the documents, as its authors presented it, is to create the foundation for a new agreement which would allow the SPD to successfully conduct the fight to replace the government and oust the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union.

The author of the first document, A. von Bulow, at one time the state secretary of the ministry of defense, belongs in fact to the right wing of the SPD. He evaluated the present military-strategic situation and came to the important conclusion that considering the ratio of forces as well as the general interests of the Soviet Union, no real threat to Western Europe exists. From that A. von Bulow deduced the possibility and need to build relations between Eastern and Western Europe on the basic of a "partnership in the interests of security." His practical proposals to carry out military policy are the withdrawal of American medium-range missiles from the continent and equipping the Bundeswehr with exclusively defensive types of weapons.

The author of the second document, the deputy chairman of the SDP faction in the Bundestag, H. Ehmke, drew attention to the problem of interrelations between the United States and Western Europe. He ascertained the difference in their interests which prevented the Western European countries from supporting the American course of confrontation and formulated practical target goals for a new concept of allied policy. In accordance with this concept, cooperation must be developed between the FRG and France as the foundation of an association of Western Europe, as a result of which it could increase its weight to such a degree that it could force the United States to consider it an equal partner. An independent Western Europe linked by alliance with the United States could reject first-strike weapons and the arms race. Basic cooperation between the West and the East in the "partnership in the interests of security" would create a situation where it would be possible to express and defend their own interests using exclusively peaceful means.

The insanity of the arms race must be ended -- that was the leitmotif of the work which took place in April 1984 in Bad Godesberg at the congress of the "Young Socialists in the SPD" organization. The bourgeois mass information media which predicted the failure of this forum miscalculated. In spite of their assertions after the change in the FRG government when leftist trends in the development of the SPD intensified, the young socialists once again increased their political weight. Among other things, the number of their basic organizations increased by 500 to 2,500. The accountability report to the congress emphasized that in the peace movement the young socialists are proving to be an independent fighting force and that they speak out for the unity of the movement more decisively and thereby differ fundamentally for the

better from the "Greens". The federal governing board praised the large contribution of young socialists in changing the party's course .17

The meeting of SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and SPD delegations of Schleswig-Holstein which took place on 26-28 April 1984 in FRG territory was yet more evidence of the SPD's new approach to the problems of foreign and military policy. It was an exclusively practical meeting. Many things were revealed which were of equal interest to both sides. The participants in the meeting demanded that the deployment of American missiles be stopped and those already deployed in FRG territory be removed; in their opinion, this would create the prerequisites for Soviet missiles to be withdrawn from GDR and Czech territory. The SPD delegation noted the useful and fruitful nature of negotiations and favored conducting similar conferences in the future.18

The SPD congress in Essen on 17-22 May 1984 drew a great deal of public attention in the FRG. The accountability report by the chairman of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, H.-J. Vogel, contained an accusation against the Bonn government that it "consciously misleads the public with assertions that the security of the West has been increased since the start of the deployment of American medium-range nuclear missiles and that at the same time the readiness of the Eastern side to reach agreement has increased."19

A prominent SPD figure and member of the presidium of the party governing board, E. Bar, gave a report entitled "On the Strategy of the North Atlantic Alliance." He stated: "Preserving peace through detente must be the highest goal in politics." Nonetheless, the present development of international relations arouses the most serious concern. The renewal of the Vienna negotiations on mutual reduction of armed forces and weapons in Central Europe as well as the Stockholm conference can be considered the only rays of light, he continued. In this connection he acknowledged that the Soviet position taken before the second phase of the Stockholm meeting began is constructive.

Having spoken in favor of concluding a treaty between the participating members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO organizations on refusing to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other first, E. Bar pointed out the negative consequences for relations between the West and the East of the "dual decision" of NATO which forced the Soviet Union to take reciprocal measures to guarantee its own security and the security of its allies.

E. Bar demanded that the further deployment of American missiles be stopped and nuclear missile means already deployed be removed in order to return to the situation which existed prior to December 1983. He spoke in favor of reviewing NATO military strategy and the so-called "offensive defense." This American concept is not only intolerable to the FRG but to all Western European states. He supported the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Europe. "The insanity of the arms race must be ended in all areas. A global concept able to open up prospects for guaranteeing peace and cooperation is needed. The agreements reached by the USSR and the United States in Vladivostok must be revived. The proposals of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium USSR Supreme Soviet K.U. Chernenko on the norms of relations among the powers possessing nuclear weapons must be seriously studied. If the United States were to pose this

task for itself, it would find support and approval in practically all states of the world," said E. Bar.²⁰

Just a few months earlier, a broad debate on problems of security had not even been expected at the SPD Essen Congress. Nonetheless, the discussion of E. Bar's report occupied one of the central positions, if not the main one, among a good dozen points on the agenda. This figure is instructive: of 842 drafts of resolutions presented both by the party's governing board and by local organizations, more than 300 were devoted to questions to some degree or another related to the problems of security and disarmament.

The main points of E. Bar's report were reflected in the resolution "Preventing War in the Nuclear Century. For a New Alliance Strategy" adopted by the congress. Most of the congress delegates and the country's democratic press considered the position taken by the social democrats in Essen on this very urgent and vitally important issue -- the issue of insuring peace and security -- to be an indisputable step forward. In this way, the SPD's acceptance of many of the basic ideas of the contemporary antiwar movement as a whole objectively creates the prerequisites for further consolidating and expanding the movement by involving the broad masses of workers oriented to this party.

It should be noted in this connection that the positive trends in the development of the antiwar movement in the FRG help solve several problems of the West German worker movement, in particular the organization of cooperation between communists and social democrats. As is well known, it has reached its highest level in the student medium milieu. The experience of this cooperation attests to the fact that where communists have achieved fundamental influence in the masses and when they persistently and actively follow a course toward unity of actions with social democrats, there even the anticommunist inclined part of social democracy is compelled to go along with cooperation. On the other hand, this experience also proves the accuracy of the conclusion that the strengthened positions of communists and their successes in battle also lead to the improved positions of leftists in social democracy. It is no accident the SPD leadership cannot, despite its early 1970's directives on the incompatibility of membership in the SPD and cooperation with the German CP and organizations close to it, pass decisions on the mass expulsion of members of social democratic student organizations.

Similar conclusions can also be suggested from studying the experience of the contemporary antiwar movement. Within its framework, communists consistently follow the line of cooperation with social democracy and help develop positive trends in the SPD. Among other things, the accountability report of the party governing board of the 7th German CP Congress which took place in Nuernberg in January 1984 pointed out: "To the extent that the SPD actively expedites returning to the situation prior to the deployment of the new missiles, speaks out for partner relations in the field of security between the East and the West, and resists total subordination to the United States, it will always have the support of the communists."²¹

Cases where prominent figures of the German CP and the SPD speak from the forum of one and the same antiwar rally are no longer a rarity, although just

a short time ago this was practically impossible. Cooperation between communists and social democrats at enterprises and between local and youth organizations oriented to these parties is becoming stronger. In particular, the rapid growth in the number of plant peace committees is in many respects the result of the unified actions of members of the German CP and the SPD.

Within the ranks of social democracy itself, sober voices are being heard more and more frequently with regard to communists; this even includes very high-ranking persons. For example, E. Bar recently stated: "As before our first priority is to secure peace; without it there is nothing. And it is precisely for this reason that in the atomic age communists are necessarily our partners since we can achieve the guarantee of security only through joint efforts. It would be an illusion to suppose that in light of this disagreements between the social democrats and the communists will be overcome. History will decide the question of the victory of one of the viewpoints. But in order for a decision to be made at all, history must go on. Preserving peace is the prerequisite for everything."²² Although the subject in this statement is not only and not so much West German communists, a comparison with E. Bar's previous statements makes it possible to conclude that anticommunist prejudices and bias among representatives of the SPD center have diminished.

But new nuances are even very noticeable in the attitude of some of the social democrats of the FRG toward the German CP. Thus, in one of his interviews, G. Weiskirchen, Bundestag deputy from the SPD, in response to a question on cooperation between communists and social democrats within the framework of the contemporary antiwar movement said: "It is natural that relations between the social democrats and the communists are extremely complex. It is also natural that both sides have a prejudice toward each other." Nonetheless, having emphasized that there are forces in the SPD which would like to return to the anticommunism of the 1950's, he stated that this is impossible. Historical experience has shown that detente, which is accompanied by an erosion of prejudices, brings social democracy positive results.²³

The fact that a member of the city parliament of Herford from the SPD, D. Begeman, considered it possible to send a letter of greeting to the Nuernberg German CP Congress is evidence of the degree to which the attitude of part of the SPD toward the German CP has changed in present conditions. The letter said: "On the eve of the step-up in the struggle to preserve peace as well as political and social rights, your party congress acquires special significance. I wish the congress participants fruitful work."²⁴

These and other facts emphasize the validity of the remark by the chairman of the Hamburg DKP [German CP] organization, V. Gerke, at the 7th Congress, that the anticommunist SPD resolutions on the incompatibility of membership in the party and cooperation with the DKP have already become a "fence full of holes."²⁵

During the development of the contemporary antiwar movement in the FRG more favorable opportunities for organizing cooperation between Marxists and believers were also created in consequence of the substantial increase in peace-making activities in the ranks of the largest churches in the FRG. To a certain extent they were realized. It is noteworthy, for example, that in

measures in connection with the Evangelical Congress in Hanover in June 1983 which was of a clearly antiwar character, DKP Chairman H. Mies, the prominent communist and participant in the antifascist Resistance movement, M. Kruger, and other DKP representatives spoke. A party discussion center was also organized, and readily visited by participants in the congress activities.

The well known DKP publicist, G. Adamo, wrote in this connection that "opportunities for cooperation which are unprecedented in our history are opening up at precisely this time." From this stems an important task for communists: to devote more attention to analyzing "phenomena in religious and church spheres in order to use this analysis to fight for a turn toward democracy in the FRG."²⁶

Real cooperation among various religious organizations and the worker movement has already been taking place for a long time and has been intensified in recent years within the framework of the structures of the youth movement, for example in those state youth circles where the Marxist-Leninist organization, German Socialist Working Youth, is represented.

The problem of organizing interaction with general democratic movements is also among the important problems of the worker movement. At the present time the solution of the question on cooperation between the worker and ecology-alternative movements, and on a party-political level -- the problem of the interrelations of the Green Party with the SPD and the DKP --are becoming especially significant for the purposes of increasing the effectiveness of the struggle for peace.

It must be said that on the whole opportunities to organize such cooperation within the framework of the contemporary antiwar movement have improved. For example, just a few years ago cooperation between the SPD and the "Greens" was essentially a forbidden subject for members of either party. But now there are many examples of interaction of these parties in parliaments and on the state, district, and municipal levels. After the early elections to the Bundestag in March 1983 there was no shortage of statements from both parties on possible cooperation in Bonn on certain issues.

Nonetheless, in recent months the inconsistency of the "Greens'" policy has increased for a number of reasons. The main one is the changed situation and position of the SPD. Its movement to the left after leaving the opposition and new interrelations with the antiwar movement posed for the "Greens" the full scope of the problem of how to insure their parliamentary future in these conditions. The point is that they only barely managed to exceed the 5 percent limit which allowed them to enter the Bundestag. Forces to the left of the SPD as well as participants in the peace movement made up a substantial part of their electorate. The reversal in SPD policy threatens the "Greens" with the possible loss of a significant part of these voters.

In these conditions it is very complicated for the "Greens" to work out a correct political line. Therefore, the contradiction among various trends in the party, above all between the largest of them -- the "fundamentalists" -- and the "reformists" is becoming much deeper.²⁷ It may be asserted that at the present time the Green Party is undergoing a crisis which they can escape

only by developing a satisfactory party strategy and arming a majority of the "Greens" with it.

The crisis of the "Greens" was fully apparent at their Duisburg Congress before the missile debate in the Bundestag in November 1983. Having aimed their criticism at the SPD and its leaders, many congress delegates tried to sow doubt in the sincerity of the SPD refusal to support the plans for "arms upgrading". P. Kelly fell upon the SPD with especially sharp attacks. And delegate R. Barro said: "If the matter goes as far as establishing an alliance with the SPD, everything must be done to destroy it."²⁸

However, sharp criticism of the "fundamentalists" was also heard from some rank-and-file delegates of the congress. Thus, one of the delegates from Karlsruhe stated that a significant number of "Greens" are experiencing more fear over the possibility of losing votes in elections than because of the American missiles. This is the real cause of their persistent aspiration to dissociate themselves from the SPD and the DKP. And a deputy from Luckau-Dannenberg said: "The 'Greens' must not turn the struggle for peace into a struggle for leadership in the peace movement. The 'Greens' have their own opinion on the problems of the politics of peace; nonetheless, they cannot claim to be the only representative on issues of war and peace."²⁸

The crisis of the "Greens" which also made itself known at the March 1984 congress in Karlsruhe is fundamentally obstructing realization of all the possibilities for organizing cooperation between the SPD and the "Greens", which after the Cologne SPD Congress and the start of missile deployment could become an important factor of the popularity of actions and effectiveness of the entire antiwar movement in the FRG.

Certain historical overlays also occur in relations of the DKP and the "Greens". Initially, the DKP reacted negatively to the emergence and swift development of the Green Party; of course, there were certain reasons for this, above all that anticommunism and anti-Sovietism were always present in the policy of the "Greens". Only in 1980-1981 did the DKP develop a new attitude toward the "Greens" as a real radical democratic antiwar force with which there could be cooperation. The problem of interrelations of communists and "Greens" occupied a large place at the Nuernberg DKP Congress. The communists praised the antiwar activities of the "Greens" in the Bundestag as "aggressive parliamentary representation of the antiwar movement." In summarizing the efforts of the DKP to organize cooperation with the "Greens" in election campaigns, H. Mies emphasized: "We acquired valuable experience in the struggle for democratic preelection alliances and to open the preelection lists of "Greens" to other leftist forces in Hamburg and Hessen. A preelection alliance emerged in Bremen in the form of "Production Alternative Lists" for the state elections. All of these were important steps and important lessons for the entire party. We have every reason to carefully study both the positive sides of this complex process of the organization of alliances and those important problems which came up against and to draw a conclusion for our policy in the future."³⁰

Severe criticism of the hegemonic tendencies which have intensified in the activities of the "Greens" relative to the contemporary antiwar movement was

heard in the accountability report. However, H. Mies emphasized: "We communists, together with other leftist forces will also fight for an alliance with the 'Greens' in the future. No matter how sharply or fundamentally we argue with them on basic policy issues and forms of actions, we will always proceed from the primacy of our common interests."³¹

While the development of relations between the worker and the ecology-alternative movements on the party level is characterized by consistent if slow development during which there is sometimes even backward movement, in the mass organizations of the ecology-alternative movement such as, for example, the "Federal Association of Civilian Initiatives on Environmental Protection," there is extremely useful -- from the standpoint of the peace struggle -- interaction of communists, social democrats, and "Greens".

On the whole the development of interrelations among communists, social democrats, and part of the ecology-alternative and church circles in recent years confirms the validity of the conclusion of the Accountability Report of the 7th DKP Congress that the development of the antiwar movement "proved that an alliance among social democrats, communists, believers, 'Greens', and liberals in the struggle for peace is necessary and possible."³²

The DKP and Marxist-Leninist youth organizations ideologically related to it (the German Socialist Working Youth and the "Spartak" Marxist Student Alliance) occupy the most consistent positions in the contemporary antiwar movement in the FRG.

Life has confirmed the validity of party policy and the basic principles of its antiwar activity which were developed at the 6th Hannover Congress in May 1981 and supplemented in the documents "On the Relation of Communists and Pacifists" (November 1981) and "War Must Never Again Begin from German Territory" (February 1982).

Proceeding from their conviction that in present conditions communists have no more important task than the struggle for peace and that they cannot have enemies in the antiwar movement but only partners, even if they adhere to other views on many important problems, the communists tirelessly fight for a broad alliance of all peace-loving democratic forces. As H. Mies emphasized at the 7th Nuernberg DKP Congress, communists reject all the anticommunist conjectures about how the communists are striving for hegemony in the contemporary antiwar movement or already run it: "The antiwar movement is not a minority movement. It is a movement that conforms to the will of most of our people. It is not 'governed' by the social democrats or the communists, the 'Greens', or the church. It is a democratic alliance of all peace-loving forces."³³ Confidence in the validity of their own ideas on further ways to develop the antiwar movement by no means signifies for communists an underestimation of the fact that "a significant part of the antiwar movement has a need to debate this issue." Moreover, the communists' conviction obligates them "to patient debate and well-intentioned argument."³⁴

Marxist-Leninist youth organizations also undoubtedly deserve credit for the scope of the contemporary antiwar movement which has been achieved. In cooperation with other peace-loving forces they have managed to intensify the

struggle for peace in universities and schools, in production, and at the dwelling place and increase the unitarian trends in the youth movement in the struggle for peace and disarmament. The consistent antiwar activity of the Communist Party and youth alliances in the FRG has earned them prestige among the country's broad democratic circles.

In summarizing the results of the development of the contemporary antimissile movement in the FRG, it is important to note that it has become the largest and most influential general democratic movement in the country's history. To a significant degree it helped create a situation in the country where the policy of confrontation with socialist countries, the arms race, and the deployment of missiles has entered into increasingly greater contradiction with the acknowledged vital interests of broad circles of the FRG population. The continuation of this policy involves a serious risk of losing election votes'; to some degree the results of recent elections and public opinion surveys signal this.

The antimissile movement in the FRG has enabled millions of the country's citizens to take an active part in the political struggle for the first time without being limited only to casting votes at the polling place; this substantially raised the level of their consciousness. And this circumstance cannot remain without consequences for the development of other general democratic and social movements. In addition, for the first time the overwhelming majority of the country's population spoke out against the policy of the ruling circles on a fundamental issue of the development of the FRG without yielding to the concentrated campaign of the bourgeois mass information media. It is also important that this campaign did not achieve any marked successes in splitting the antimissile movement.

The struggle for peace in the country has made its contribution to the work of eroding certain anticommunist and anti-Soviet prejudices and biases; this was reflected in the marked decline in their use by the adherents of "arms upgrading". For example, the attempts of reactionary forces to curb the forward development of the antimissile movement by enmeshing it in futile debates on the so-called Polish and Afghan issues, which have nothing in common with the goals of the movement and thereby split the movement, have failed. Primitive anticommunist attacks have begun to lose their attraction even for conservative circles.

It is also very significant that the struggle for peace in the FRG and the review by mass worker organizations of their own former positions on problems of war, peace, and disarmament are giving marked impetus to development of the antiwar movement in other developed capitalist countries as well.

However, the increased complexity of political-ideological tasks facing the most progressive forces in the FRG antiwar movement must not be underestimated. It is a consequence of the continued expansion of the movement as well as the recent intensification of attempts by certain forces to subordinate the development of the struggle for peace in the country to solving their own election or party-tactical problems.

Of course, the interaction between the worker and antimissile movements has by no means exhausted existing possibilities yet. Their utilization is related in particular to a fundamental change in the SPD position on the missile issue, which can be of extreme importance in solving the problem of democratic alliances; this would make a fundamental contribution to changing the ratio of forces in the country to the benefit of peace, democracy, and social progress. The increased role of the working class in the antimissile movement confirms that this is possible. The fact of this increase is of fundamental importance. As K.U. Chernenko wrote in a greeting addressed to the participants in the international meeting of working youth "For the Right to Work and the Right to Live": "The effectiveness of the mass movement for peace depends to a decisive degree on how actively the antiwar movement of workers, and above all of the working class, is developed."³⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. For more details on the participation of the working class in the FRG in the struggle for peace prior to the summer of 1982 see: A.F. Khramtsov, "The FRG: The Working Class in the Contemporary Antiwar Movement," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, No 5, 1982, pp 54-65.
2. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG, 15 September 1983.
3. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG -- DIE TAT, 11 November 1983.
4. IPW -- BERICHTE, No 7, 1983, p 20.
5. NACHRICHTEN ZUR WIRTSCHAFTS- UND SOZIALPOLITIK, No 12, 1982, p 17.
6. WEIT DER ARBEIT, 31 March 1983; DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG, 14 April 1983.
7. NACHRICHTEN ZUR WIRTSCHAFTS- UND SOZIALPOLITIK, No 7, 1983, p 13.
8. MARXISTISCHE BLAETTER, No 5, p 81.
9. DIE WAHRHEIT, 5 October 1983.
10. UNSERE ZEIT, 7 October 1983.
11. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG -- DIE TAT, 18 November 1983.
12. UNSERE ZEIT, 24 November 1983.
13. UNSERE ZEIT, 18 February 1984.
14. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG -- DIE TAT, 27 April 1984.
15. IPW -- BERICHTE, No 2, 1984, p 36.
16. Ibid.

17. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG -- DIE TAT, 20 April 1984.
18. Ibid., 4 May 1984.
19. PRAVDA, 19 May 1984.
20. PRAVDA, 21 May 1984.
21. UNSERE ZEIT, 7 January 1984.
22. VORWAERTS, 20 October 1983.
23. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG -- DIE TAT, 4 November 1983.
24. UNSERE ZEIT, 11 January 1984.
25. Ibid.
26. MARXISTISCHE BLAETTER, No 4, 1983, p 5.
27. On trends in the party of the "Greens" see: RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR,, No 3, 1983, p 153.
28. DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG -- DIE TAT, 25 October 1983.
29. UNSERE ZEIT, 25 October 1983.
30. UNSERE ZEIT, 7 January 1984.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. PRAVDA, 29 October 1984.

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NEED FOR GREATER COORDINATION OF CEMA ECONOMIES SEEN

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[Article* by Boris Mikhaylovich Pugachev, doctor of philosophical sciences and department head at the Scientific Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee: "International Experience of Building Socialism and Cooperation of Fraternal Countries"]

[Text] Historical progress is directly related to the forward development of socialism. The successes of the countries of the socialist community in social, political, economic, and spiritual spheres are indisputable; their unity and cohesion become stronger every year and their positions in the international arena are strengthened. The results of the Economic Summit Conference of CEMA Member-Countries held in Moscow in June 1984 were new evidence of the successes of the world of socialism. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet K.U. Chernenko emphasized, "A big step forward has been made in coordinating economic policy. We have signed important program documents. Long-term directions of the economic interaction of fraternal countries have been determined. All this should make it possible to take better advantage of the benefits of socialist integration for the good of our peoples and create the prerequisites to more efficiently perform the tasks of production intensification and further even out the development of the CEMA member-countries."¹

A number of new initiatives intended to normalize the international climate on our planet in a fundamental way were advanced at the Conference. The results of the Conference are important not only as evidence of the growing strength of the economic cooperation of the CEMA member-countries but for internationalizing the experience of socialist construction on the whole as well. A great deal of attention at the conference was devoted to problems of strengthening the unity of the fraternal countries and their multilateral rapprochement. It is precisely on these questions that the attention of this article is also focused.

* Party study guide on the subject: "The Basic Directions of Activity of the Communist Parties of the Countries of the Socialist Community."

The historical path followed by the countries of real socialism is inseparable from the development of the world revolutionary process as a whole. The practices of solving particular economic, political, and ideological problems and the experience accumulated by these countries indicate possible directions for resolving complex problems facing each revolutionary detachment fighting to liberate the workers and against imperialist reaction.

By the fact of its existence real socialism has a fundamental effect on the contemporary world. Communist and worker parties of all continents study the practices of constructing a new world in the USSR and other socialist countries. In a number of cases these practices are directly reflected in their theoretical and program precepts (for example, today the Leninist NEP concept is universally used in developing the newest concepts for transforming the capitalist economic structure into a socialist one, the role of centralized leadership of the economy in the process of these transformations is emphasized, and so forth). Of course, the evaluation of the historical experience of socialist transformations in the countries of real socialism is not always the same. Nonetheless, this does not abolish the fact of the generally positive impact of this experience on the entire progress of the contemporary revolutionary process.

In the socialist community itself, the activity of governments, parties, state and public organizations, and the broad working masses is aimed at the generalization and practical use of collective experience accumulated by the fraternal socialist countries. V.I. Lenin wrote: "The more diverse our common experience, the better and richer it will be, the more reliable and rapid the success of socialism will be, and the more easily practice will produce -- since only practice can produce -- the best methods and means of struggle."² Bearing in mind the relationship of the national and the international in the work of socialist construction, V.I. Lenin also noted: "Only through a number of attempts -- each of which, taken separately, will be one-sided and will suffer from a certain inappropriateness -- is unified socialism created from the revolutionary cooperation of the proletariats of all countries."³

Internationalization interpreted according to Lenin is not related to artificial "imposition" of outside experience. The direct experience of each socialist country, becoming common property, is creatively applied. That which is international in the experience of a particular state and is of general significance for all states is sorted out from that which is national-characteristic (applied to a group of states) and national-specific (of significance only to the given country).

Identifying what is of general importance in the practical activity of each party and of each socialist state is only the first phase in the work of internationalizing the experience of socialist construction. The second phase involves the use of this generally important experience on different national soil. Obviously, the experience can be creatively incorporated when it meets the country's requirements and is applied with consideration for the country's national specifics.

The internationalization of the experience of socialist construction appears in two basic forms -- direct and mediated. The joint actions of the socialist

countries while solving common problems produces direct international experience. Mediated experience is accumulated during socialist and communist construction in individual countries and then becomes their common achievement as a result of transferring its generally important features (or national-characteristic aspects which are of importance to a group of states) to international soil.⁴

Of course, we are talking primarily of positive, favorable experience. But consideration of unfavorable, negative experience is no less important. It warns of mistakes in the future and allows the strategy and tactics of socialist and communist construction to be adjusted. "In analyzing the mistakes of yesterday," noted V.I. Lenin, "we thereby learn to avoid mistakes today and tomorrow."⁵

The refinement of various forms of cooperation among the countries of the socialist community and progress in equalizing the levels of their political and economic development gradually lead to an increasingly greater similarity in social tasks being performed and increase what the fraternal states have in common in their political, economic, and social life. Progress in different fields of the interstate cooperation of the socialist countries inevitably leads to an ever-increasing coordination in their foreign policies, closer economic interaction, expanded cultural exchange, and the mutual supplementation and adaptation of economic and other structures of the countries which are cooperating. All this promotes the formation of an increasingly more integrated socioeconomic and sociopolitical system, which the community of socialist states is at the present time.

The essence of socialism as an international social order appears most graphically in conditions of the developed socialist society and in its developmental stage. In practice this is embodied in the common tasks of socialist construction, the ever-greater similarity of the processes of economic growth and social-class evolution, and similar trends of development of the political superstructure. It is no accident that common problems related to converting to an intensive type of economic growth, increasing its efficiency, and searching for forms and methods to improve the management of the national economy faced the group of fraternal countries in the 1960's-1980's along with the tasks of building and refining developed socialism.

All this by no means signifies a nullification of national features in building developed socialism. On the contrary, the most complete and comprehensive flourishing of each socialist nation occurs in precisely these conditions. Nonetheless, the fundamental features of the construction of developed socialism and its patterns of creation are international in nature.

Internationalization of the experience of building developed socialism is not only related to the growing similarity of the socioeconomic tasks being performed. Similar contradictions between the needs of further progressive economic development and the forms and methods of managing the economy which have taken shape are found in the group of fraternal countries in the 1970's-1980's stage, and similar problems have arisen on the path to further develop and refine socialist democracy and establish the socialist way of life.

The socialist community is a part of the world which is rapidly growing in the economic sense. Thus, in 1950-1983 the CEMA countries' production of industrial output increased approximately by a factor of 14, while in developed capitalist countries the figure was 3.8. The equalization which took place in these years of the levels of economic development of the states of the socialist community and their rapprochement was of fundamental importance for the broader and deeper economic cooperation of the fraternal countries.

The increased similarity and compatibility of structural changes in the production process is reflected in the evening out of the structures of national income and employment in different CEMA member-countries. While the USSR and the CSSR differed very substantially from a number of other socialist countries in the structure of their national incomes (they had a high proportion of industry and construction) in 1950, this structure had been appreciably evened out in all European CEMA member-countries by 1983. Impressive changes in the employment sphere also took place. In past years such countries as Bulgaria and Romania made much headway on the path to create contemporary industrial production, which also influenced the employment structure. While in 1950 these countries differed substantially from others in the structure of their labor resources and had the smallest proportions of people engaged in industry, by 1983 indicators in this production sphere had become substantially closer in the whole group of European CEMA member-countries. As a result of the more rapid economic development of countries less developed in the past and their conversion from agrarian to industrial-agrarian countries, the levels of economic development of all the fraternal states have become closer. Thus, in 1983 the gap in the level of national income, figured per capita, among the European CEMA member-countries was reduced to a factor of 1.3, and in the level of industrial output -- to a factor of 1.4. The levels of economic development are being evened out primarily through mobilizing the internal resources of each country. But assistance is possible and needed from other socialist countries in certain phases. For example, today the CEMA fraternal states give such assistance to the Mongolian People's Republic, Cuba, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

On the whole it may be concluded that the experience of equalizing the levels of economic development accumulated by the countries of real socialism will also be valuable for other states entering the socialist path, and that today it is already of indisputable importance for all detachments of the world revolutionary movement.

Along with the leveling and convergence of conditions of economic activity, similar problems of economic growth arose before the fraternal countries in the 1970's-1980's. The most important ones are related to the intensive stage of development, increased production efficiency, and improved qualitative indicators of economic activity. In these years the CEMA countries increasingly converted to the path of intensification which requires changes in both the strategy of economic growth and in the very approaches to evaluating its results. In the first place, a percentage point of increase in the 1970's-1980's became more significant (in the absolute sense, a 1-percent increase in industrial output of the CEMA countries in the 1980's was equal to a 12-15 percent increase in the 1950's). Secondly, it is not so much quantitative indicators as qualitative indicators related to the increased

efficiency and results of economic growth which prove to be the center of attention today.

The intensive development of the economies of most CEMA countries is related to the development of the scientific-technical revolution and the achievement of higher production efficiency and is brought about by objective need, in particular the lack of work force reserves. On the whole those engaged in the national economies of the CEMA member-countries, including students of working age and servicemen, make up more than 90 percent of the able-bodied population. The other 10 percent of the able-bodied population are primarily engaged in the domestic sector. In these conditions the intensive path of development is becoming the only one possible. In the 1980's from 75 to 100 percent of the increase in industrial output was provided by increasing labor productivity. This is very important since the work force shortage will continue in the near future. The intensive path of development presupposes identifying effective growth levers and mobilizing all reserves. The CEMA countries have such reserves, and very substantial ones. According to existing evaluations, the use of internal reserves opens up the possibility (even with labor and material resources already enlisted in production) to raise the volume of output by 20-30 percent above the planned increase in some cases. This can be achieved through better labor organization, a higher coefficient of equipment use per shift, and reduced labor turnover.

Increased production efficiency is impossible in contemporary conditions without utilizing all the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. Thus, while in the early 20th century new equipment increased labor productivity in industry by 5 percent, at the present time there is an increase of 50-100 percent and more. The socialist countries have achieved significant successes in the main areas of scientific-technical progress (nuclear power engineering, the conquest of space, and others), but they still lag behind developed capitalist countries in some other areas. In these conditions the task of further incorporating all the achievements of scientific-technical progress remains urgent for all socialist countries today; it is precisely for this reason that they are joining efforts in this direction. About 400 agreements and contracts on scientific-technical cooperation have been concluded among different ministries and departments of the socialist countries and another 5,000 more are being worked out on a bilateral basis.

The course aimed at production efficiency and improved output quality also presupposes further improvement of the system for national economic management. In the 1970's a discrepancy was found in most countries of the socialist community between the increased level of development of production forces and the forms and methods of managing the national economy which had developed. The search for new forms of managing and stimulating the economy, a search which continues even now, was necessitated by the requirements of the development of production forces in some socialist countries in the 1970's-1980's. In the practices of building socialism there were attempts to artificially introduce production relations which did not conform to the level of development of production forces achieved. Life has proven that any attempts to "inject" more "mature" production relations without the presence of the necessary economic preconditions are undoubtedly doomed to failure,

since "new higher production relations never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured."⁶ A search for the optimal combination of planned principles of economic management with broader incentive for both enterprises and direct producers in the results of their labor is being conducted during the refinement of the economic mechanism in the CEMA member-countries. The large-scale economic experiment begun in 1984 in the Soviet Union also conforms to this goal.

The policy of production intensification and its increased efficiency is giving marked results. Thus, on the whole the economic development of the fraternal countries was accelerated in 1983. The increase in industrial output totaled 4.6 percent in the People's Republic of Bulgaria; 1 percent in the Hungarian People's Republic; 4.5 percent in the GDR; 4.8 percent in the Socialist Republic of Romania; 4 percent in the USSR; 2.7 percent in the CSSR; and 6.7 percent in the Polish People's Republic.

The results achieved by the fraternal countries from the policy of intensification and increased production efficiency are being examined. Universal intensification of material production has become one of the most characteristic features of the development of the Bulgarian economy. In recent years 90 percent of the increase in national income in Bulgaria was achieved through increased labor productivity. Progressive changes in the structure of industry have continued. The machine building, electronics, chemical, and power engineering industries have been developed at an accelerated rate. At the present time the Bulgarian CP attaches special significance to the quality of economic growth. In 1984 the national Bulgarian CP conference adopted the "Long-term Party Program on Improvement of Quality." The program notes that the task of a general solution to the problem of quality is the paramount technological, economic, social, political, and ideological problem which is faced today; it must be approached in a new way from new positions and with new criteria. The realization of the 12th Bulgarian CP's policy of universal intensification, Bulgaria's participation in international division of labor and socialist economic integration, strengthening of the country's defense preparedness, and the steady increase in the people's material and cultural level depend to a great degree on solving this problem. That is why the Bulgarian CP considers the problem of quality as the key problem in the cause of building developed socialism in that country.

The Hungarian economy has entered the intensive path of economic development. In recent years labor productivity has been substantially increased there and specific expenditure of energy and materials per unit of output has declined. A complex of measures to conserve energy in the country merits special attention. In 1981-1983 specific energy consumption per unit of output declined by 4 percent, while general energy consumption declined by 2 percent. While more than 10.5 million tons of oil was consumed in production enterprises and for the population's domestic needs in 1979, the figure was approximately 8 million tons in 1983. And this savings was achieved in conditions of increased industrial and agricultural production.⁷

The economic power of the GDR has been fundamentally strengthened thanks to the efforts of the workers and skillful party leadership. It is very

characteristic that in the first 3 years of the current five-year plan, GDR industry has been developing at a high and stable rate with steadily decreasing consumption of raw materials and energy. The policy of production intensification which is the basis of the economic policy of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] was directly manifested in this. In 1983 alone production growth totaled 4.5 percent, and it was achieved almost exclusively as a result of increased labor productivity. At the same time the consumption of energy media and raw materials was reduced by 7 percent converted to the volume of commodities produced.⁸

The Soviet Union plans a decisive turn toward intensive development and increased efficiency of all social production. Progressive equipment and technology is being extensively introduced in all sectors of the national economy. In 1983 alone about 3,700 new types of machines, equipment, instruments, and materials were incorporated into production, a number of highly efficient technological processes were introduced, and the use of microprocessors and robot equipment was expanded.⁹

One of the key directions of the intensification of social production is conservation of raw materials and fuel-energy resources and their reduced consumption per unit of final national economic results. The planned increase in national income in 1984 should be achieved in the USSR while reducing metals consumption by 2.5 percent and energy consumption by 1.5 percent. Resource conservation is becoming a leading element in increasing economic efficiency. Today increased production volumes through the improved use of raw and processed materials, fuel, and energy is both the most profitable and sometimes the only possible way. All the country's labor collectives have responded to the appeal of the December 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to achieve an above-plan increase in labor productivity of 1 percent and an additional reduction in the prime cost of output of 0.5 percent.

Gross national income increased by 7.3 percent in the CEMA countries as a whole in 1981-1983; this is almost twice as high as the corresponding indicator of the industrially developed countries of the West. The efforts of all the CEMA countries are focused on increasing production efficiency, intensifying production, and conserving fuel and raw and processed materials. Today their progress is determined by converting to intensive development of the economy, jointly searching for ways to increase production efficiency, maximally mastering the achievements of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, and improving forms and methods of management.

Each country's national experience is thoroughly studied by other socialist countries and creatively applied in their specific conditions. "In none of the socialist countries which exist today were the forms, methods, and ways of socialist revolution a mechanical repetition of another's experience," the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized. To an equal extent "the creation and consolidation of the foundations of socialism and the construction of a socialist society have also had and do have their own specific features in different countries."¹⁰ The increased diversity of the forms and methods of national solutions to problems common to all the fraternal countries reflects the specific nature of the contemporary development stage of real socialism.

The fraternal countries are interested in the Soviet experience. Thus, good results were achieved in Bulgaria in introducing brigade forms of organization and stimulation of labor and the Orel experience of continuous planning in construction. The Saratov method of turning over output in defect-free form and the brigade contract method in construction have found fertile soil in a number of districts of the GDR.

Interest in the experience of the toilers of the fraternal states is also not waning in our country. It is well known, for example, that the GDR and Hungary have managed to reduce the volume of energy consumption in recent years. Bulgaria and some other countries have introduced efficient forms of agroindustrial cooperation. A number of CEMA countries -- the GDR, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia -- have posed the task of developing industrial production for the most part without increasing the number of workers. Our country's labor collectives also aspire to this. And it is no accident that the 26th CPSU Congress noted how important it is to "more attentively study and more extensively utilize the experience of the fraternal countries."¹¹

The need for the revolutionary unity of the proletariats of all countries was formulated by the founders of scientific communism. "The liberation of labor," wrote K. Marx, "is not a local or a national problem but a social one which encompasses all countries in which modern society exists."¹²

In contemporary conditions the ideas of international solidarity and unity are embodied in the practices of development of the socialist community. Three points, three stages in shaping the unity of the countries of the socialist community can be distinguished. The first point, the starting point, is the unity of views of the ruling communist and worker parties on the essential questions of socialist and communist construction and the development of the socialist world and the contemporary international situation. The second point is the unity of goals of the communist and worker parties and the governments of socialist countries in the cause of building a new life and the unity of their goals in the international arena. Finally, the third point is the unity of actions on the path to carry out coordinated foreign policy and affirm the ideals of the new social order. In other words, the essence of unity is the unity of views, goals, and actions of the ruling communist and worker parties of the countries of the socialist community both in solving the fundamental question of socialist construction and in practical activities in the international arena.

It must be emphasized that unity is not created in a void. There are strong objective bases making it possible to cement the unity of the socialist countries; they are the social order which is uniform in nature, uniform Marxist-Leninist ideology, and common tasks in building socialism and communism.

By contrast, the subjective factors of unity are related to the internationalist foreign policy course conducted by every socialist state which enables the common goals and actions of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties and the fraternal states on the international arena to be carried out. This dialectic of the objective and the subjective is very important when we are speaking of national-state interests and their mutual coordination.

The national interests of each socialist state are the set of objective needs produced by the particular historical conditions of the development of a certain country which meet the essential goals of the working class and all working people. But it is the basically shared set of objective needs of the fraternal countries related to their common interest in consolidating the positions of the new social order in the international arena and in each socialist country taken separately that constitutes the most important part of the content of their international interests.

The unity of the socialist countries in different stages of historical development appears in different forms. This situation is natural since specific conditions of unity which influence its forms and content take shape in each particular stage of the forward movement of world socialism.

In the 1970's-1980's a new flexible and dynamic form of unity of the socialist countries which is organically inherent to the mature community of the fraternal states is gradually forming. It originated as a natural consequence of those new conditions which took shape in the international arena and of those new problems of the socialist community's own development, whose solution has become paramount.

On the whole new opportunities to increase initiative and activism in the world arena of each fraternal country and more closely coordinate their foreign policies are opening up in contemporary conditions. On the one hand, opportunities of this kind are related to the expanded sphere of joint actions of these countries, which is manifested in the deepening of their economic, political, ideological, and cultural cooperation and in the active influence of coordinated socialist foreign policy on the international climate. On the other hand, opportunities are increasing for more complete consideration of the interests of each socialist state and more consistent satisfaction of the national needs of all countries of the socialist community.

The growing strength of the political-ideological foundations of unity increasingly unites the equal, sovereign countries of the socialist community and increases its international prestige. The policy of deepening the political cooperation of the fraternal states and strengthening their unity is dominant in the development of the socialist community. The contemporary flexible form of unity is increasingly in line with the present stage of vital activity of the community and the rapprochement stage of the fraternal countries. It is entirely appropriate to the new opportunities related, on the one hand, to activization of the foreign policy of each country of socialism and, on the other, to the increasingly closer and more consistent rapprochement of fraternal peoples. It is precisely this course which makes it possible to cement the international unity of the countries of socialism, deepen their multilateral mutual cooperation, and strengthen the fraternal alliance of peoples.

In the 1970's-1980's the development of international ties, which are the political foundation of unity, increasingly serves the cause of unity and rapprochement of the fraternal states. The problems of socialist and communist construction and contemporary international life which are arising are as a

rule discussed at meetings of the leaders of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries of socialism. They make it possible to collectively discuss and attempt to solve the most important problems of socialist and communist construction, share experience in it, and come to agreement on a common stance in the international arena.

The meetings of general and first secretaries of the fraternal parties of the countries of the socialist community, which have become traditional, are of exceptional importance. Thus, in 1981-1984 important agreements, whose realization undoubtedly helped successfully develop the socialist countries and strengthen their unity and cohesion were achieved during meetings of the leaders of the fraternal parties.

The ideological foundations of unity were also strengthened. The major problems of the ideological cooperation of the fraternal countries and of the coordination of their efforts in the international arena were examined at the regular conference of secretaries of central committees of communist and worker parties of socialist countries on international and ideological issues which took place in Prague on 11-12 July 1984.

The conference participants spoke out for strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of all communist and worker parties. The conference emphasized that the growth of militarism in the imperialist states is accompanied by an increase in ideological sabotage against the socialist countries, the development of defamatory campaigns, attempts to seriously interfere in their internal affairs, and the use of all kinds of economic sanctions. A direct tie between imperialism's course of further escalation of the arms race, the monopolies' attack on the vital interests of the working people of the capitalist countries, and the repression of progressive movements which favor social change was also noted. Counting on force in world affairs, imperialism is more and more openly encouraging chauvinism and racism, making room for revanchism and neofascism, and raising terrorism against whole peoples to the rank of state policy. The conference pointed out the need to intensify propaganda on the advantages and achievements of real socialism which in practice has insured the right to work, education, democratic participation in state affairs, and the free development of the individual.

A great deal of attention at the conference was devoted to the approaching 40th anniversary of the Victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism. Ideological work related to this historic event will serve the cause of indoctrinating socialist internationalism and patriotism and the interests of the struggle against the threat of war. New generations of people throughout the entire world must know the truth about World War II, how Hitler's fascism and the most aggressive forces of international imperialism unleashed it, and they must know about the Soviet Union's decisive role and the contribution of the communist and worker movements and all antifascist and patriotic forces in achieving victory.¹³

The Warsaw Pact Organization continues to serve as the mechanism of military and political interaction of the fraternal socialist countries in the 1970's-1980's. The Political Consultative Committee and the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact Member-States plan the joint course of

these states on crucial questions of world policy. The declarations of the Moscow (1978), Warsaw (1980), and Prague (1983) Political Consultative Committee conferences can serve as examples; they are political documents which give an indepth analysis of the international situation, show the achievements in the struggle for detente and obstructions standing in this path, and advance new initiatives which meet the fundamental interests of the peoples of the entire world. Imperialist policies strive in every possible way to limit the international influence of the countries of socialism. They try to weaken their cohesion and loosen the foundations of the socialist order where it seems to them they can figure on success. In these conditions it is especially important to preserve and strengthen the solidarity and unity of the fraternal socialist countries. The leaders of the member-states of the Warsaw Pact unanimously expressed their firm belief in this once again during meetings in February 1984 in Moscow.

Consolidating the economic foundations of the unity of the fraternal countries in the 1970's-1980's involves developing socialist economic integration. The significance of the cooperation of the countries of socialism both on a bilateral basis and within the CEMA framework is steadily increasing. They direct their efforts to solve such fundamental national economic problems as increasing energy capacities, achieving a qualitatively new level of machine building, and fully satisfying the demand for consumer goods and agricultural output. In the current five-year plan cooperation among the countries of socialism in those economic links which are the base ones both for scientific-technical progress and the increased well-being of the people is becoming especially broad in scope.

The Economic Summit Conference of CEMA Member-Countries held in June 1984 was an important new step on the road to further expand the cooperation of the socialist countries. It is was a major event not only in the history of world socialism but of the entire international communist and worker movement. Conducted in a constructive, business-like spirit and in an atmosphere of friendship, full mutual understanding, and unity, the Conference on the whole and in the main confirmed the community of evaluations and views on key problems of the life of the socialist community and the international situation and expressed the collective aspiration to strengthen the cohesion of the fraternal parties and states even further.

The most important questions of the economic development and cooperation of the fraternal countries were discussed at the Moscow Conference. The program documents -- the Statement on the Basic Directions of Further Development and Deepening of the Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the CEMA Member-Countries and the Declaration of the Member-Countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, "Preserving Peace and International Economic Cooperation" -- were unanimously approved and signed. These documents were met with satisfaction by the peoples of the fraternal states and provoked broad response in some circles of the international community.

In praising the achieved results of cooperation, the Conference participants focused main attention on the future, on questions of further deepening and refining the multilateral ties of the fraternal countries and on meeting the challenges stemming from internal and external conditions which have changed

in recent years. An important step forward has been made in coordinating economic policy. The long-term directions of the interaction of states of the community in key sectors of the national economy and in the field of scientific-technical progress were determined.

Special significance is being attached to meeting the challenges of converting the economy to an intensive path of development at an accelerated rate, increasing its efficiency, insuring further growth in social production as the foundation for strengthening the material-technical base of socialist society and increasing the well-being of the people, increasing the quality of output, developing export production, and distributing production forces more efficiently.

The Conference acknowledged the usefulness of intensifying the collective work of the communist and worker parties and the governments of the CEMA member-countries on developing cooperation and socialist economic integration and exchanging experience in economic development. The need in contemporary conditions to make the mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA framework more efficient and bring it in line with contemporary tasks as well as increase CEMA's role in the organization of cooperation was pointed out. A long-term strategy of actions which conform to the interests of each country and cooperation as a whole was collectively worked out.

The Moscow Conference promoted a realistic program to normalize international relations. In putting the principles of equality, friendship, and mutual assistance into practice in their own mutual cooperation, the countries of socialism are also making a worthy contribution to the restructuring of international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis. They are consistent supporters of adopting effective measures aimed at eliminating any kind of exploitation and discrimination in international economic relations and at making the use of economic levers for political pressure and intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states unacceptable.

Today life itself poses the task of ever-greater deepening of specialization in the manufacturing industry in order to provide key production sectors with machines and equipment which are of high quality and on the world technical level. The fraternal countries are successfully solving the problem of increasingly full, economical, and rational use of energy media and raw materials. At the same time they are striving to change the structure of energy production and are setting the goal of developing atomic energy. For these purposes the CEMA countries are developing programs to build AES's and aerogeophysical stations to the year 2,000. The scope and level of the scientific-technical cooperation of the fraternal countries have now led in earnest to the need to work out, within the CEMA framework, a coordinated -- and in certain fields uniform -- scientific-technical policy. A comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress for 15-0 years will be worked out on the basis of national programs within the CEMA framework. It is now necessary to substantially expand direct economic ties between enterprises and associations of countries and increase the number of jointly built enterprises and firms and international economic organizations. And undoubtedly all programs of cooperation within the CEMA framework will in the future be closely correlated with performing the key task -- increasing the living

standard of the peoples of the fraternal countries. Both the main directions of the socioeconomic policy of the CEMA countries and efforts to raise the standard and quality of living of the workers could be the object of coordination here. In other words, in the contemporary stage of the rapprochement of the fraternal countries, all the prerequisites to raise economic ties within the CEMA framework to a new level which meets the needs and capabilities of the present economic and sociopolitical development of the countries of the socialist community have been created.

The CEMA countries have come to an understanding on important measures to create and produce machines and equipment on the level of world standards on the basis of wide utilization of industrial robots, microprocessing equipment, and microelectronics. In this connection, reserves for cooperation on the enterprise level should be utilized more completely. The USSR has made a decision to set up a model car production facility at the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Leninskogo Komsomola. Undoubtedly, such an important national economic task will be performed most successfully with the participation of CEMA country enterprises. There are also opportunities for the extensive application of flexible, adaptable production facilities in other sectors. CEMA organs must study questions of multilateral cooperation in this important field of scientific-technical progress. Obviously, it is now necessary to increase the quality of mutually delivered articles and commodities. It is in the general interests of the CEMA countries to increase the accountability of suppliers and purchasers for the constant updating and improvement of output and fully eliminate the practice of supplying obsolete articles.

The CEMA countries have begun to work out prospects for socioeconomic development for 1986-1990 and the subsequent period. The coordination of state plans for the new five-year period is an important part of this work. During the coordination of plans, a course has been adopted to insure that cooperation has an even more actively impact on intensification of the economies of the CEMA member-countries and on the increased efficiency of mutual ties. In the work to coordinate plans special attention is being devoted to insuring scientific-technical progress in the national economy. Measures are being taken to combine the efforts of scientific research, planning and design, and production associations to solve the most important problems of science and develop progressive equipment and technology in order to create new construction materials and use them in production.

Today the community has everything necessary to insure its technical-economic invulnerability through collective efforts. The production of many articles of the chemical and metallurgical industries which were formerly bought in the United States and in countries which support the discriminatory acts of the American leadership has been organized in the Soviet Union in recent years. Additional assignments in this field were established for 1984-1990. Today the task is being posed to prepare practical proposals for the CEMA countries to carry out measures to organize joint production of some machines, equipment, and materials on whose sale the West is introducing restrictions.

In this way, the contemporary stage of the integrated rapprochement of the CEMA countries -- a new step in the coordination of their economic policies -- realistically demonstrates opportunities to solve complicated large-scale

problems in the world of socialism. And this solution is one which flexibly combines the national-state and international interests of the fraternal countries. Obviously, this experience is also important for the world revolutionary movement on the whole as an example of harmonious combination of the national and the international under socialism. The historical experience of the development of real socialism obviously reveals new qualities of the communist civilization which is taking shape. The fraternal socialist countries are united in their views, goals, and actions. As K.U. Chernenko emphasized at the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries, "On the whole and in the main the community of evaluations and views has been affirmed once again and the collective desire to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the fraternal parties and states even further has been expressed. Socialism in fact demonstrates that it is a society of genuine equality and progress and steady economic upsurge and a society where the interests of the working class and the people of labor are put first."¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. "Ekonomicheskoye Soveshchaniye stran-chlenov SEV na vysshem urovne 12-14 iyunya 1984 g." [The Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries on 12-14 June 1984], Moscow, 1984, pp 11-12.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 35, p 204.
3. Ibid., Vol 36, p 306.
4. For more details see: "Sotsialisticheskiy internatsionalizm: teoriya i praktika mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy novogo tipa" [Socialist Internationalism: The Theory and Practice of the New Type of International Relations], Moscow, 1979, p 202.
5. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 257.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Socheneniya" [Works], Vol 13, p 7.
7. NEPSABADSHAG, 17 December 1983.
8. PRAVDA, 20 March 1984.
9. PRAVDA, 29 December 1983.
10. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 17.
11. Ibid.
12. Marx, Engels, op. cit., Vol 16, p 12.
13. See: PRAVDA, 14 July 1984.
14. "Ekonomicheskoye. . ." op. cit., p 11.

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CSO: 1807/196

MARXIST INFLUENCE ON THOUGHT OF MEXICAN SOCIOLOGISTS PRAISED

[Editorial Report] Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 6, November-December 1984 publishes on pages 163-169 a 5,700-word article by L.S. Poskonina under the rubric "Reports" entitled "Marxism-Leninism and the Evolution of Progressive Political Science in Mexico". The article notes the "growth of the authority and influence of Marxism is connected with the crisis of Latin American sociology and political science," and offers as prime examples of this the writings of two Mexican sociologists, A. Aguilar and F. Carmona as published in the Mexican journal ESTRATEGIA. Aguilar and Carmona are praised in particular for the fact that they "polemicize against bourgeois reformism. . . as well as against left radicalism". Their critiques of transnational corporations and "state-monopoly capitalism" are also stressed, as are their calls for a "New International Economic Order".

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'TROTSKYITE' ROLE IN ANTIWAR MOVEMENT DEPLORED AS ANTI-SOVIET

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 170-174

[Article by N.A. Vasetskiy: "The Trotskyite Policy of Splitting the Antiwar Movement"]

[Text] The contemporary political reality of the developed capitalist countries as well as of the developing countries, in particular in the countries of Latin America, has been marked by an outbreak of activism by extreme leftist groups, and above all Trotskyite groups. Their leaders have hastily announced the arrival of a "decade of Trotskyism" in the world.¹

Of course, this does not mean that Trotskyism has been converted into a movement which has a great impact on the development of political events.² But there is no doubt that even today it is doing great harm to revolutionary and democratic forces. One piece of evidence of this is the intensified subversive activity of Trotskyism in the antiwar movement.

In the late 1960's the Trotskyites had already tried to develop vigorous activity in many antiwar organizations which at that time spoke out above all against U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. By statements supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people, which the Trotskyites saw as the most effective means to "urge on" world revolution, they managed to win over a number of antiwar organizations in the United States, the British Isles, France, and several other countries. It was not without reason that Trotskyite historian P. Frank put the actions of the "4th International" related precisely to events showing the support of world public opinion for the struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia for independence and peace as one of the main causes of the revival of Trotskyism in those years.³

Even after that there were attempts not only to preserve but also develop this activism of the "4th International". The central goal which Trotskyism is posing for itself in the 1980's is to penetrate all component parts of the antiwar movement. The Belgian supporters of the "4th International" (Posadas) state: "We must join in this movement and give ideological help to its participants."⁴ A figure of the "combined secretariat of the 4th International", E. Mandel, appeals for the same thing. From his point of view, "The movement against war, and in particular against the threat of world thermonuclear war, is extremely important."⁵

But how can the fact be explained that the Trotskyites, who have always shown uncompromising hostility toward any movements of peace-loving forces against the threat of war, treating them as "incompatible" with the goals and tasks of the revolutionary movement, have suddenly begun to represent themselves as the most radical champions of the struggle for peace? There is nothing surprising in the 180-degree turn of contemporary Trotskyism if the Trotskyites' high degree of political mimicry is taken into account. In the past too Trotskyism has more than once demonstrated the ability to seize the most crucial problems of political life and give them an interpretation that may find a response in certain social strata. But the idea that Trotskyism has conceived the idea of profiting from such an extremely critical problem of contemporary times as the problem of the struggle for peace is, perhaps, a rather unusual tactical move by the leaders of Trotskyism. And the main reason for this move is the increasing role of the struggle for peace in contemporary life.

The increasingly vigorous intervention of peoples in deciding the issues of war and peace is one of the major positive processes of contemporary times. As for the sphere of international relations, this is confirmed by V.I. Lenin's idea: "As people's historical creativity is expanded and deepened, the size of the masses of people who are conscious historical figures should also increase."⁶

The peace movement is growing, replenished by new political currents and organizations and encompassing more and more new social strata in different countries. And this is not accidental. Opposition to the forces of war and militarism in our day expresses the main mood of many people on our planet today. This mood merges the concern about the threat hanging over all human civilization because of a possible thermonuclear holocaust; the workers' concern for social gains which are nullified by an unrestrained arms race; and disappointment in a policy which is unable to solve important social problems in conditions of the general crisis of capitalism. The basis of this opposition is the yearning for democratic self-determination and the desire to find ideals and spiritual values which make life worth living.

However, one must not, of course, fail to see other aspects of the antiwar movement. On the one hand is its spontaneity and on the other, the absence of a common ideological-political platform. Differences in the compelling motives of the social strata, groups, political parties, and organizations which belong to the movement and the slogans and demands they advance characterize the distribution of forces in this movement. The forms of struggle being used by different facets of the antiwar movement and its social and occupational groups are just as diverse, even more so if we consider that they frequently operate in the specific conditions of different countries and continents. These differences and divergences, which frequently lead to rivalry between particular elements of the peace movement, are becoming more and more pronounced at the present time. The opponents of the antiwar movement try to profit by this in particular. They try to sow dissension in its ranks and at the same time make antiwar forces operating in various political and geographic conditions clash with one another.

This is precisely the political style of contemporary Trotskyism. Penetrating the ranks of the fighters for peace, Trotskyites want to kill two birds with one stone, as they say. In the first place, where there is an opportunity to do so, they want to split the ranks of the antiwar organization, enlist its members on their side, and thereby try to consolidate their own social base. Secondly, operating directly and communicating directly with supporters of antiwar actions, they want to discredit the peace-loving proposals of the countries of the socialist community in the eyes of the supporters in every way and instill anti-Sovietism and antisocialism in their consciousness.

Under the guise of love of peace. Needless to say, Trotskyite ideologists are aware of the fact that it is unlikely they will succeed in carrying out their real schemes by talking openly about them. Therefore, as was repeatedly done in the past by Trotsky himself, today his followers, carefully masking their true intentions, try to penetrate through the "opening of any differences of opinion" which arise among the participants in the peace movement, blow up these differences of opinion by every means, and take advantage of them for purposes which by no means conform to the tasks or needs of the peace struggle. And in this sense the words of K. Marx, said, it is true, about the bourgeois parliament of Gladstone but nonetheless accurate and capacious characterizing the essence of political hypocrisy, are completely applicable to contemporary Trotskyites: "empty depths, unctuousness, not without a poisonous ingredient, a velvet paw, not without claws."⁷

Above all the Trotskyite ideologists have tried to take the posture of people who are hurt because they are "misunderstood." "One can often hear," Posadas, the leader of the "4th International", said mournfully, "that the Trotskyites are evil because they stand for atomic war. No, we do not want war." Representatives of the "committee to reconstruct the 4th International" also echo him. They say: "At all times the yearning to live in peace has always been among the most cherished aspirations of peoples."⁸ "No War!" -- The Belgian Trotskyites conducted municipal elections under this slogan in 1982. In short, to listen to contemporary Trotskyites, there are probably no more radical fighters for peace today than they. Nonetheless, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, if "people are to be judged by how they act and what they really propagandize, rather than the brilliant uniform they themselves choose to wear or the effective nickname they have taken for themselves. . ."⁹ then one is convinced that as before the Trotskyites care very little about an effective struggle for peace and the fate of mankind.

Trotskyite statements in defense of peace are the result of highly situational calculations. They pursue the usual goal of the Trotskyites -- to attract the attention of working people. And above all, those working people whose level does not allow them to immediately figure out the far-reaching schemes of the Trotskyite leaders. The Trotskyite "program of peace" which recalls a suitcase with a false bottom is designed precisely for this. What is displayed on the outside is immaterial to Trotskyism. And what expresses the real essence of Trotskyism and characterizes it as the militant enemy of any peace proposals or initiatives, whoever proposes them, is painstakingly hidden in the secret "bottom".

The core of the Trotskyite "program" is the demands which, according to the assertion of the Trotskyites themselves, cannot be "integrated" into the capitalist system. Among them, for example, in the opinion of the leadership of the French "communist revolutionary league", are: the immediate dismantling of nuclear weapons; conquest of the army by creating trade unions of soldiers independent of the worker trade unions; granting soldiers and workers the right to veto the production of weapons; formation of armed detachments from the local population; and so on. The French Posadists believe that the establishment of worker control over the financing and production of nuclear weapons would be the most effective means of the struggle for peace.

Such a "peace program" is composed with ulterior motives. The main calculation in it is made to represent Trotskyism as the extreme left pole of the antiwar movement. Those people, among them those from the ranks of the working class, who are "not yet genuine revolutionaries because of their lack of consciousness," (that is, simply speaking, Trotskyites) but no longer accept the "reformist platform" of the communists would cluster around precisely this movement, according to the "communist revolutionary league" figure, R. Ivtso.¹⁰

The Trotskyite "program" is designed to create the impression that Trotskyism stands "for" solving the problem of preserving peace. But it acts "against" solving this problem in stages or, as is expressed in the "4th International", "by halves." If there is to be action, they say, let there be no looking back and if there is to be movement, let it go all the way.

Nonetheless, the Trotskyites are having little success in wearing the halo of ultraradical fighters for peace. The voice of the troubadors of war, who consider war a universal means of solving all conflicts and problems, is clearly heard in their speeches. Representatives of the "international communist party" say: "In order to really fight against the threat of world war, revolutionary communists must and can join in a single outburst that will lead to class war."¹¹ Posadas also sings a frank hymn of war. In one of his last books he viewed it as the most salient event able to rock society and resolve all its contradictions.¹²

It follows from such statements that "peace" a la Trotskyites is a fig leaf with which to mask far from peaceful appeals and intentions. The "program of peace" advanced by contemporary Trotskyism leads to the disorientation of the masses because it is impossible to realize. It helps demoralize them and removes any desire for active political actions in those who fall under its influence. And as a result it not only sows doubt in the effectiveness of the struggle for peace, but of any mass struggle on the whole.

The "Trojan Horse" of reaction. Since it has no strong ties with any of the social class strata, Trotskyism has always responded scornfully to the masses' aspiration toward unity in the struggle against imperialism, in particular when solving important social problems. Its position on the question of coordinating actions to preserve peace, which primarily depends on strengthening the unity and solidarity of all antiwar forces, is no exception.

Having adopted a course to undermine the cohesion of the advocates of peace, Trotskyism actually operates in the same direction as the most aggressive militaristic circles. Its goal, if it cannot exclude the socialist countries from the world-wide antiwar movement -- something which is impossible not only for Trotskyism but for all international reaction on the whole -- is then to try to distance other participants in the antiwar struggle from real socialism by every means, contrasting their goals and tasks to the foreign policy of the countries of socialism and the peace-loving public which exists in these countries. The journal QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE, which is the organ of the "combined secretariat of the 4th International", wrote: "Today more than ever before in the past, the 'peace' diplomacy of the Soviet State must be separated from the autonomous policy of worker organizations in order to carry on the struggle for Revolution and socialism -- the only guarantees of peace."¹³ "Elaborating" this thesis, supporters of the "Marxist-revolutionary tendency of the 4th International" proposed a position on the need to "separate" socialist countries from one another. "Speaking of the position of the worker states," they state, "a distinction must be made between the policy of the USSR itself and the policy of other worker states of Europe and Asia as well as Cuba."¹⁴

And how are the Trotskyites carrying out these "separatist ideas"? We will note that in this case they are not distinguished by any particularly inventive "reasons" or refined methods of action. Trying to formulate -- to the extent they are able -- a negative stereotype of peace supporters in the socialist countries, the Trotskyite ideologists have begun to propagandize the thesis that only those movements or organizations which demonstrate their independence from the policies of any power can be considered genuinely antiwar and conforming to the interests of the working masses. "It is possible for an antiwar movement to be popular and united only when it is independent of any government or state," says E. Mandel. He believes that to the extent the antiwar movements in the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe support the foreign policy of their own governments, they cannot be recognized by the supporters of peace as "independent" and able to "represent" the interests of the peoples of their countries, and so be a full participant in the world-wide movement for peace.¹⁵

There is nothing further from reality than this type of assertion. Nonetheless, considering the changeable "ideological climate" being created by the efforts of imperialist propaganda, not least of all, around and within the antiwar movement, the fact that the Trotskyite statements can find a response in some people must not be ignored. Therefore, we need to dwell on this question in more detail.

Undoubtedly, the antiwar movement in the socialist countries, and in the USSR in particular, developed its own forms of activity, both similar and unlike those which are used by peace supporters in the nonsocialist states.

As in the West, millions of people in our country participate in gatherings, rallies, and demonstrations, sometimes attended by families with children. In 1983 alone more than 160 million Soviet people took part in the more than 140,000 different antiwar actions which occurred. During mass actions

resolutions have been adopted demanding that the arms build-up be ended and imperialism be stopped from pumping up international tension.

Letters to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government, the editors of the central and local press, radio, and television are an important form of expression of the Soviet people's love of peace. Letters with expressions of anger and indignation addressed to the White House also speak of the Soviet people's yearning for peace.

The collection of signatures in 1976 for the World Peace Council's new Stockholm Appeal became a unique nation-wide referendum for peace and against the arms race in our country. More than 170 million Soviet citizens, among them leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet State, signed the appeal and demanded that the arms race be ended and real disarmament measures be carried out.

The main holidays of the workers of the USSR are an expression of the Soviet people's love of peace: 1 May -- the Day of International Worker Solidarity; 9 May -- Victory Day; 7 November -- the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution; and so forth. Tens of millions of Soviet people march under the slogans of peace, detente, and disarmament in holiday demonstrations. The Soviet people express loyalty to the ideals of peace at mass antiwar demonstrations dedicated to the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, other famous wartime dates, and the unveiling of monuments to its heroes.

The activity of the Soviet peace fund enjoys nation-wide support. Every year the amount of monetary means received in this fund increases; it is used to support the Soviet Peace Committee and other public organizations and carry out diverse measures which help the peace-loving USSR foreign policy and deepen mutual understanding with representatives of the foreign community.

All this gives every reason to conclude that the Soviet public is a component and integral part of the world-wide and European movements for peace and against the threat of thermonuclear and chemical warfare.

Of course, it would be completely wrong to shut our eyes to the fact that the movement of the peace supporters in the socialist countries carries out the common main goal in fundamentally different political conditions than the peace-loving forces in the West. This also predetermines the fundamental difference in our antiwar movement as compared to movements in the capitalist states. B.N. Ponomarev, nonvoting member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasizes, "There is no one for the Soviet people to confront on the issues of war and peace in their own country. Their moods, aspirations, and opinions are embodied in the program documents of the Communist Party and in the actual policy of the state. Yes, in our country there is not one social group, much less a class, which is interested in wars and the arms race and gets rich on war preparations. All our plans are oriented to peaceful, constructive development. Soviet military doctrine is of a defensive nature. This determines the basic goals and directions of Soviet foreign policy, which the Soviet people therefore fully support and approve."¹⁶

Their opinion and the opinion of the Soviet public and representatives of different strata of our people are taken into full account in developing USSR domestic and foreign policy. The voices of representatives of the Soviet public are treated with deep respect when major foreign policy issues are discussed at meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and commissions on foreign affairs of both chambers of the supreme organ of Soviet Power. This is no accident since the working masses themselves are the creators of the Soviet State's foreign policy. Thus, workers and kolkhoz members make up 51.3 percent of those elected to both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. For comparison it will be useful to recall that there are no workers or regular farmers in the U.S. Congress at all. And those same Americans call the upper house, the Senate, the "millionaires' club", which, of course, is not at all concerned with the interests of simple working people. It is for precisely this reason that under socialism powerful representatives of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia stand at the helm of power and not only formally but in fact express the fundamental interests of the working people and carry them out in every field.

Therefore, to speak of the need for a certain "distancing" of the antiwar movement in socialist countries from the policies of their states means to deliberately distort or keep silent about the essence of the policies of states which differ in their social structures. It also means to conceal from the public of Western countries that the basis of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet State, as well as of the other countries of the socialist community, is determined by their socioeconomic order, and that these states consider the need to insure conditions of peace for building socialism and communism to be their main task.

Contemporary Trotskyites also engage in distorting this policy. Yearning to direct members of the antiwar movement along a false course, they are proposing another "program" of demands which they themselves have described as a means "of political pressure on the Kremlin." Among these demands are: recognition of the right to establish free relations with "unofficial" peace movements or, as E. Mandel puts it, peace movements which are "not subordinate" to the state (they supposedly exist in the socialist countries) and giving these movements the right to freedom of action; recognition of the right to refuse military service for political and other motives in the countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR; "reorientation" of capital intended to support the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization for social and other needs; and "proportional reduction of military contingents in Eastern and Western Europe." The fulfillment of this "program", notes E. Mandel, "objectively meets the needs of political revolution in Eastern Europe and the USSR,"¹⁷ aimed at overthrowing the social order which exists in them.

The collection of demands presented is a kind of pseudorevolutionary version of the so-called politics of diversion, where the resolution of urgent questions of international life is thwarted because one of the parties imposes completely ridiculous claims which have nothing to do with the matter at hand. This policy aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states is designed to torpedo general democratic norms and principles which have been established in contemporary international relations regardless of whether the subject is states or social movements and organizations.

Moreover, this is the policy of reorienting the peace movement in the capitalist states from the struggle against the threat of thermonuclear war into a fight against the world socialist community which is a mainstay of the cause of peace and security of peoples. In other words, this is an attempt to turn the peace movement into a support movement for antisocialist forces and an element of international counterrevolution.

Finally, at the same time this is a program to disarm the working people in the socialist countries themselves. And the point is not only the appeals of Trotskyites to sabotage the constitutional obligation of each citizen to defend the socialist Homeland. In fact the question is broader. The point is an aspiration to undermine the trust of the working people, and above all the working class, in the people's power. After all, according to Trotskyite logic, the working people must not only support the peace-loving initiatives of the socialist state and public and political organizations, but conduct a struggle against them and aspire to "political revolution" in their own countries; it is this very struggle that the representatives of the mythical "independent" antiwar movements are supposed to be leading.

Even the bourgeois "Tartuffe's" [hypocrites] who have become experts in slandering real socialism rarely sink to such a degree of political hypocrisy when arrant anti-Sovietism falls under the slogans of the struggle for peace and world revolution. But that is the political face of contemporary Trotskyism, which does everything it can to separate the participants in the world-wide movement for peace into different quarters. After all, in an environment of such self-isolation, the feeling of comradeship in the struggle against imperialist aggression is weakened, and this may make the ideological processing of the masses in the direction needed by the Trotskyites easier.

Nonetheless, the Trotskyites are having little success doing this. Today the awareness of the need to achieve actual unification of the efforts of all people who are against the arms race and the danger of war and for detente and peace is growing and becoming stronger in the most diverse social, political, and ideological circles. The forces of peace exceed those who intend to bring mankind to a thermonuclear holocaust. These forces are varied and occupy different political positions and act in their own ways. But no matter how different their views of other issues or how different the forms and methods of actions which are customary for them, the main thing is to insure that their efforts are directed at the most important goal of mankind -- guaranteeing international security.

Real socialism is the leader in the struggle to realize this goal. At the 7th Congress of the German CP, its chairman, H. Mies, emphasized: "In the socialist community of states there is a force which, together with all other peace-loving forces -- the international worker and antiimperialist movements and millions of peace supporters -- is in a position to stop imperialism from unleashing a world nuclear war. The socialist states embody the largest and most powerful movement of our time. The foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist states proves again and again that socialism and peace are indivisible."

Undoubtedly, the success of the supporters of the antiwar movement is due to the achievements of peace-loving forces both within the boundaries of individual countries and by unified efforts on the scale of the entire planet. In conditions when imperialism is continually coordinating its policies against the forces of peace, socialism, and freedom on an international level, the solidarity and unity of the antiwar movement in the struggle against militarism and the threat of thermonuclear war is becoming especially crucial and urgent. The struggle against war is difficult, Lenin said back in December 1917. "Whoever thought that achieving peace is easy and that it is only necessary to hint at peace and the bourgeoisie will present it to us on a platter is altogether naive. The raging hatred which the bourgeoisie exhibits toward us and toward our movement for peace will not stop us."¹⁸

Even less will the hatred which contemporary Trotskyism, loyal to the traditions of "classical" Trotskyism -- to destroy the antiwar movement covered by "leftist" phraseology, nourishes toward the fighters against war stop us. Therefore, the destructive role of Trotskyism and its ability to push some people, in particular those from nonproletarian strata who, in Lenin's words, are enlisted in the struggle by the stream of events but are helpless when faced with revolutionary phraseology,¹⁹ must not be underestimated to any degree.

This is one of the reasons the imperialist bourgeoisie supports Trotskyism. To them Trotskyism was and remains the "Trojan Horse" which it yearns to introduce into the camp of the fighters for universal peace and disarmament.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: CORRESPONDENCIA INTERNACIONAL, No 2, 1980, p 32.
2. After its formation in 1938, the Trotskyite "4th International" was split several times. At the present time seven groups of this "International" are known. Their "national sections" operate in practically all capitalist and many developing countries. According to the author's calculations, the total number of members of these sections fluctuates from 70,000 to 100,000.
3. See: P. Frank, "Quatrieme Internationale. Contribution a l'histoire du mouvement trotskyste international" [The 4th International. A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyite International Movement], Paris, 1969, p 105.
4. LUTTE OUVRIERE, 13 April 1984.
5. NEW LEFT REVIEW, No 141, September-October 1983, p 36.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 2, pp 539-540.
7. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol II, p 269.

8. INFORMATIONS OUVRIERS, 24--1 July 1983, p 12.
9. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 6, p 9.
10. See: TRIBUNE SOCIALISTE, 10 January 1975.
11. PROGRAMME COMMUNISTE, No 87, December 1981, p 5.
12. See: Posadas, "La guerre, la paix et le socialisme. 1977-1981" [War, Peace, and Socialism. 1977-1981], Paris, 1981, p 31.
13. QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE, No 20, November 1963, p 5.
14. SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME, No 73, January-February-March 1978, p 30.
15. See: NEW LEFT REVIEW, No 141, September-October 1983, p 40.
16. B. Ponomarev, "The Contemporary Situation and Role of the Democratic Press" in KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1983, pp 15-16.
17. NEW LEFT REVIEW, No 141, September-October 1983, pp 38-40.
18. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 35, pp 116-117.
19. See: Ibid., Vol 10, p 17.

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MEETING ON JUBILEE OF SOCIAL-SCIENCES JOURNAL FOR FOREIGN READERS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 175-176

[Article by V.N. Lorentsson: "20 Years of Scientific Publishing Activity: OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI I SOVREMENNOST'" [The Social Sciences and Contemporary Times]]

[Text] The editors of OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI I SOVREMENNOST' (ONS), whose publication is distributed to 130 foreign countries and who function as one of the subdivisions of the USSR Academy of Sciences system, make an important contribution to meeting the challenges posed by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in the field of propaganda on the achievements of real socialism in studying the contemporary processes of world development.

The ONS editorial office marked its 20th anniversary this year. The meeting of the Editorial Council held in March of this year was devoted to the results of its scientific research activity in past years and the goals of the forthcoming period. At the meeting, among other things, the special importance of publications which cover the scientific elaboration of problems of refining developed socialism and the struggle of the CPSU and the Soviet State to prevent nuclear war and preserve and consolidate peace was noted. It was emphasized that guided by the decisions of the party and its Central Committee and the points and conclusions contained in the speeches of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, K.U. Chernenko, the ONS editorial staff devotes a great deal of attention to actualizing topics and deepening the content of the works being published.

The chairman of the Editorial Council and vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, opened the meeting and in his speech noted that the editorial office had traveled a long and interesting path in a comparatively short period of time and become widely known abroad as a center for preparing and publishing the works of Soviet social scientists in foreign languages. The increasingly broad dissemination of these works attests above all to the prestige and influence of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of humanitarian research, which is increasing among the world scientific community.

Speaking at the meeting were: the academician-secretary of the Department of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy; the director of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N.N. Miklukho-Maklaya, Academician Yu.V. Bromley; director of the Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V.A. Vinogradov; rector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences R.G. Yanovskiy; chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the Comprehensive Problem "Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Engineering" and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, I.T. Frolov; and president of the Soviet Sociological Association, Professor Kh.N. Momdzhyan.

The basic directions of ONS activity were analyzed. Thus, under the editorial logo, the quarterly OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI is published in English, French, German, Spanish, and Portuguese, and is reprinted in India (in Bengali), Greece (in Modern Greek), Japan (in Japanese), and in a number of other countries. Each of its issues has a central block of articles on one of the fundamental problems of social science. Among the main rubrics are ones such as "Problems of War and Peace", "The Developing Countries: New Research", "Debates and Discussions", "Criticism and Commentaries", "Man and Nature", and "Youth and Society".

Unlike the quarterly distributed mainly in capitalist as well as developing countries, the twice-monthly journal of the same name which is published in Russian is oriented to the readers of socialist countries. It covers questions of the theory and practice of developed socialism, consolidation of the world socialist system, and the struggle of ideas in the contemporary world. A great deal of attention is devoted to the problems of the methodology of Marxist-Leninist social knowledge and to integrating processes in contemporary science. The goal of the journal is to help develop creative cooperation among the scientists of the fraternal countries. Articles from it are regularly reprinted in the Czech-language journal SPOLECENSKE VEDY (Social Sciences), published in Prague.

Subject manuals published by the editors are also well known to the foreign reader. At the present time they are published in 11 series. Large orders for a number of publications which came out in these series were received from foreign firms. The anthology "Marksistskaya filosofiya i sovremennost'" [Marxist Philosophy and Contemporary Times] which was published in 1983 in five European languages and Arabic can be noted among these books. It includes works by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, among them his articles, "The Working Class and Scientific-Technical Progress" and "The Dialectics of the International and the National in the Socialist Way of Life", and other studies.

The anthology of articles by the corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, T.T. Timofeyev, "Rabochiy klass i sotsial'nyy progress" [The Working Class and Social Progress] (1979) also aroused extensive interest. This publication examined, for example, such subjects as: K. Marx and the working class; the Leninist conception of the world revolutionary process; and the worker movement in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism.

Other anthologies also attracted attention, in particular the book "Razvitoj sotsializm: ekonomika, politika, ideologiya" [Developed Socialism: Economics, Politics, and Ideology] (1982) where the achievements of the Country of the Soviets in various areas of life which make up the actual base on which socialism is developing today are examined and the prospects of its further development are shown. The anthology "Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni: problemy i perspektivy" [The Socialist Way of Life: Problems and Prospects] (1981) reveals the broad and practical program of socioeconomic measures aimed at developing and refining the socialist way of life which is being carried out in the USSR. The anthology "Sotsializm i prava cheloveka" [Socialism and Human Rights] (1979) covered these subjects: human rights in the USSR; socialist legality; justice and the guarantee of the inviolability of the individual in the USSR; and human rights and the contemporary ideological struggle.

The anthology "Bor'ba SSSR za mir i bezopasnost'" [The USSR's Struggle for Peace and Security] is coming out this year. Its materials reveal and trace the continuity of the Soviet State's policy on the issues of peace and security in different historical stages -- from Lenin's Decree on Peace to our day. Special attention is devoted to the role which the Program of Peace plays in contemporary conditions; this program was worked out by the 24th and developed by the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses and the Soviet State in accordance with the USSR Constitution, where it is written that "insuring the country's security and helping consolidate peace and develop international cooperation" is a goal of the socialist state.

The anthology "80-e gody i molodezh'" [The 1980's and Youth] is being prepared for publication. It demonstrates the concern shown in the USSR for the younger generation and the enormous role of youth in the life of Soviet society. The book includes materials which analyze the problems of the development of the international youth movement and articles on youth alliances in the countries of socialism and on progressive youth organizations of the capitalist countries in the 1980's.

The editorial office systematically puts out publications timed to coincide with international scientific congresses and conferences in which Soviet scientists take part. Special subject anthologies on the most urgent and crucial problems of the international situation are also published regularly; of recent publications the books "Mal'vinskiy (folklendskiy) krizis: istoki i posledstviya" [The Malvinas (Falkland) Crisis: Sources and Consequences], "Palestinskaya problema: agressiya, soprotivleniye, puti resheniya" [The Palestinian Problem: Aggression, Resistance, and Paths of Resolution] (the first of the foreign-language editions was in Arabic), and "Grenada: istoriya, revolyutsiya, interventsiya SShA" [Grenada: History, Revolution, and U.S. Intervention] were widely noted.

In all more than 600 anthologies in a total of more than a million copies were published in past years.

The ONS editorial office strives to acquaint the foreign reader as fully as possible with the basic directions and results of research of Soviet

scientists and therefore cooperates closely not only with humanitarian institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences but with the editors of the journals they publish. Among them is RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR. Many articles from this journal have become the basis for materials in the journal OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI and in anthologies. Other forms of joint work are also fruitful. Thus, the associates of the International Worker Movement Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the journal RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR prepared a detailed bibliography for "Kniga o mezhdunarodnom rabochem dvizhenii" [Book on the International Worker Movement] in 1978 for the quarterly OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI.

While noting the achievements and analyzing experience accumulated, the participants in the meeting also spoke of shortcomings in the work and reserves for formulating the subject matter of publications, selecting materials, and increasing efficiency. The deputy chairman of the Editorial Council and chief editor of ONS, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences I.R. Grigulevich, discussed ways to improve the work of the editorial office.

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BOOK ANALYZING 1970'S REVOLUTIONS REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 84 pp 177-180

[Review by Ya.S. Drabkin under the rubric "Criticism and Bibliography" of book "Revolyutsiya prodolzhayetsya (Opyt 70-kh godov XX veka)" [Revolution Continues (The Experience of the 1970's)] by B.I. Koval', "Nauka", Moscow, 1984, number of copies not given, 177 pages].

[Text] It was Rosa Luxemburg who said that the history of revolution is "the most interesting thing there is in science." In our time there is no need to convince the Soviet (and for that matter, not only the Soviet) reader of this. It is even more evident to historians. Nonetheless, the main editor of the book, V.V. Zagladin, has every reason to draw attention to the surprising fact that up to this point there has been no summary work in Marxist literature which covers the history of 20th century revolution and interprets the experience of these revolutions as a whole rather than individually (p 4).

An examination of contemporary revolutions in all their diversity and uniqueness by no means excludes but, on the contrary, presupposes the identification of patterns on different levels, certain "common denominators". And various aspects, points of view, and methods of analyzing the general and the particular which is inherent in both the revolutionary process as a whole and each particular revolution are completely possible and fruitful within the framework of unified Marxist-Leninist methodology.

In our opinion B.I. Koval's work is one of the first attempts to resolve this problem. The emphasis of research, composition, and generalization is put precisely on summarizing and synthesizing the revolutionary experience in which each revolution -- large or small, completed or not, victorious or defeated -- makes its unique contribution. The author correctly points out the importance of the very category of revolutionary experience and the fact that elaboration of the theoretical problems of recent revolutionary experience is just beginning (p 11).

A notable feature of the book being reviewed is that fact that a historian rather than a philosopher emerged on the level of broad theoretical generalization almost for the first time. The point, of course, is not departmental affiliation or professional qualifications, especially as the author proved himself a serious historian with many skills long ago. The

point is the specific character of the approach. Just a general comparison of B.I. Koval's work with a book which came out recently by the well-known philosopher and expert in the theoretical problems of revolutions, Yu.A. Krasin, already gives a fine opportunity to see what the point is.¹ The comparison is even more appropriate because both books are devoted to one and the same period and are approximately equal in size. In addition, both authors point out that the genre chosen (by each of them) does not claim to be all-encompassing. Both books are designed to call attention to certain general, crucial problems which are opened for further discussion and study.

Yu.A. Krasin sees his task in "putting the accent not so much on facts and events as on reflections on the conceptual order."² The book's structure is also determined by this plan. Skillfully using a broad circle of the latest historical materials, the author enlists them in order to reveal the efficacy, in contemporary conditions, of the major components of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory: the role of revolutions; their relationship with democracy and the state; the significance of the subjective factor; ideas on the majority and alliances and on transitional types; the relationship of the international and the national; and so on. The logical conclusion that the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution enriched by collective experience is a reliable foundation for the creative actions of revolutionaries in the present and in the future follows from analyzing and synthesizing new conditions, circumstances, and events.

In his book B.I. Koval' aspires to unify historical and sociological approaches without overloading the work with factual material (p 12). Proceeding from the main principles of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, he demonstrates their efficacy. But for him the specific historical facts are not only a general background -- they also provide extremely rich vital material which, while not fitting into a rigid scheme, confirms the accuracy of the main prognoses in each step of the real movement and also suggests directions for the further development of creative thought. Therefore, the book's dynamic title -- "Revolution Continues" -- and its emphasis on recent experience reflect its contents very accurately.

In considering revolutionary experience a historical category of the class struggle, the author emphasizes that it is the "quintessence, the core of human history and social experiences," the cement which "binds the past, present, and future together," and the thing that gives a continuous and progressive nature to the entire revolutionary process. The author traces the gnoseological chain further: "practice -- experience -- theory -- new practice -- new experience -- the development of theory" (pp 35-36, 38). We will note in passing that the addition of a final link at the end of this chain -- "most recent practice" -- would make it more evident that the main goal is revolution itself.

In this connection, the ideas expressed by the author on the priority of the experience of classes and masses over the experience of individuals and organizations, the levels of genesis of experience, the clash of different experiences, and especially the mechanism of transmitting experience from one generation to the next must be noted. In conditions of the growth of universal education (with all its different levels) and the impact of mass

information, the questions of "introducing consciousness" and the masses accumulating their own experience acquire different parameters than in the last century and the first half of this one.

B.I. Koval's comments on the various degrees or levels of the mass struggle and the need to refine our conceptual apparatus are very constructive. In reality, inadequately strict differentiation and the diffuseness of certain concepts and categories makes systematizing and transmitting experience more difficult.

The author convincingly shows that contemporary social protest movements -- and they have acquired unprecedented scope and will contain the potential for further growth (especially if the so-called "new alternative movements" are borne in mind) -- do not have a single-class structure. They are broader in the composition of participants and more diverse in goals advanced than the class struggle which, of course, in turn has a number of levels and only forms the revolutionary movement on its highest level. This last concept, naturally used more than others in the book, obviously also needs to be broken down internally. I think it is worth talking about this in more detail.

B.I. Koval' invests the broadest and most universal content in the concept of the "world revolutionary process" which, he writes, "ultimately insures the world's transition from capitalism to socialism" (p 22). In another place it is said: "The higher revolutionary content of the struggle of the progressive classes is now determined by the fact that the reorganization of life, the destruction of the capitalist system, and the creation of a new -- socialist and communist -- society is its final goal. In the first place and in the highest degree this quality is inherent in the conscious working class." And further: "Real life is not, of course, limited by this 'higher level' of revolutionary character. There are also other 'levels'" (p 18).

The author describes a real "multilevel" building: "The integrity of the world revolutionary process in each historical moment is an intricate complex of diverse movements -- socialist, democratic, antiimperialist, and antifascist" (p 26). In connection with actual events other "levels" are named in different regions and countries. But before dealing with them, we will look closely at how the author correlates the concepts of a "revolutionary movement", the "revolutionary process", and "revolution".

"We say 'revolution' and 'revolutionary processes', but are these concepts identical?" B.I. Koval' poses an important question and responds: "In a general sense, of course, they are synonyms, but only in the most general sense. In real life there is nonetheless a certain difference between 'revolution' and 'revolutionary process'. Above all this difference concerns the pace (rhythm) at which the social upheaval is completed, and sometimes its forms as well. But in principle the subject is one and the same social phenomenon, although in ordinary awareness the firm opinion has developed that 'revolution' is something deeper than 'revolutionary process'." We must never agree with this opinion from the scientific standpoint; therefore we use both terms as synonyms in this work" (pp 47-48).

But is this conclusion indisputable? After all, the author himself wrote above: "Revolutions occupy a special place in the history of the class struggle. They are like the summits which signify either a transition from one formation to another or fundamental progress in the nature of state power and social relations" (p. 45). But at the end of the book it is stated even more clearly: "Social revolution is the open clash of classes, the highest form of their political activism, and the highest manifestation of their intellect, will, energy, and power" (p. 171). Certainly such descriptions are not applied to any point of the revolutionary process?

Obviously, it is worthwhile to distinguish the revolutionary process without harming its integrity and diachronic phases or stages: ascent; stagnation; and ebb; or (from the standpoint of the actions of revolutionary forces) offense, defense, and retreat. Taking similar phases into account (continuity, alternation, whose "cohesion" varies), as a major component of the revolutionary process in the stage of its ascent, revolution in fact will emerge as the "highest form", the "summit", and the "culmination" of the revolutionary struggle. At the same time this definition of revolution does not make it a brief, one-time act and makes it possible to see the more or less lengthy process in it, which, nonetheless, is not only characterized by quantitative indicators of pace and rhythm but a qualitative indicator as well -- the intensity of the social upheaval taking place.

The author himself also distinguishes the revolutionary situation from the revolutionary process and calls it a "particular" and not often recurring condition of the development period of the objective preconditions of revolution, a prerevolutionary or early revolutionary condition. Other questions aside (including the question: is the revolutionary situation a synonym for nation-wide crisis? -- see p. 116), we will note that the very "specialness" of the revolutionary situation and of revolution even more so, compels one to see the part of the whole in it. It is true that it is almost always easier to give the date of its beginning than the time of its completion. So it has always been and most revolutions entered history by their starting dates, among them the October Revolution in Russia, the November Revolution in Germany, the April Revolution in Portugal, and so forth. It is easier to mark the end of a revolution which has been defeated (especially if a counterrevolutionary coup took place) than the end of a successful revolution which steadily advances toward solving the most complex and profound problems. But more difficult does not mean impossible, and fixing the stages of the revolutionary process is all the more important since it is precisely turning points and transitions that demand the most attention from revolutionary forces since the need to reorganize tactics, organization, and so on is related to these turning points and transitions.

B.I. Koval' and Yu.A. Krasin also write on the methodological importance of differentiating the revolutionary process (and revolutions included in it) on the typological plane; this is discussed in all debates. The problem requires comprehensive study and we will limit ourselves here to just a few cases directly related to B.I. Koval's book.

As is well-known, K. Marx and F. Engels established the deep-seated basis of typology when speaking of the "epoch of social revolution" and differentiating

bourgeois and socialist revolutions. V.I. Lenin confirmed the action of these principles in another epoch, the epoch of socialist revolution opened by the October Revolution, especially emphasizing the irregularity of the world revolutionary process and the different natures of its component elements. In contemporary conditions these features have been intensified, creating increasingly more diverse combinations and intermediate conditions. In light of this a general description of the epoch forms the background upon which revolutionary events unfold; they have a wide spectrum of possibilities and particular prospects stemming from both the past of the particular country and its place in the contemporary world.

In examining the revolutions of the 1970's V.I. Koval' takes into account the interaction of the three basic levels -- the global, the regional, and the national (p 107). These revolutions, he notes, occurred "in the zone of the middle and lower levels of development of capitalism," inasmuch as "social and political instability is most characteristic" of precisely these societies" (p 110). And besides, they developed under the influence of the "three main objective factors -- the degree of development of local capitalism, independence from imperialism, and a multifaceted socioeconomic structure" -- which shape both the objective goals and the driving forces (p 114).

The primary task of the researcher is to identify the basic nature (socioeconomic content) of each revolution, or in other words to explain what it is directed against, which systemic or structural crisis objectively caused it, and for what, which social stratum, is the struggle being waged? In characterizing the movements and revolutions of the 1970's and arranging them by "levels," B.I. Koval' uses more than a dozen common definitions, not singly, but in one "series" or another. It is all the more important to examine which scientific criteria or parameters are the basis for the comparative analysis done by the author.

In order to identify the socioeconomic content of a revolution, the author uses these concepts: the antifeudal revolution (Peru, Madagascar Ethiopia); the bourgeois-democratic revolution (Bolivia); and the socialist revolution (Vietnam, Laos). Broader concepts are used in other cases: the antiimperialist revolution (Peru, Chile, Nicaragua, Madagascar, Iran); the national-democratic revolution (Madagascar, Vietnam); the national-liberation revolution (Angola); and the anticolonial revolution (Mozambique). The emphasis in them is on the country's liberation from foreign dependence, whereas the nature of the internal social transformations is not singled out. The following concepts deal with a change in the political regime only: the antioligarchic revolution (Peru, Nicaragua); the antidictatorial revolution; and the antifascist revolution.

Strictly speaking, people's, people's-democratic, and (general) democratic concepts express the driving forces of the revolution and the degree of their activism rather than the nature of the revolution. The author applies them to all the revolution he mentions (except Peru). At the same time, in the word usage established in the literature the concepts of people's and people's democratic revolutions are used to define the nature of those revolutions which to one extent or another go beyond the framework of the capitalist system, where the prerequisites (whether they are realized or not is another

question) for developing them into socialist revolutions exist. The author classifies Portugal, Chile, Vietnam, and Laos as precisely this type of revolutions. And the concept of socialist orientation is used in relation to those countries where the conditions for socialism have not yet matured but the prerequisites are gradually taking shape (Nicaragua, Madagascar, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan).

The scale of definitions used and different combinations of them generally makes it possible to envelop and express the most fundamental features of the nature of each of the 15 revolutions which the book discusses. Such parameters as the driving forces of the revolution, the problems of class and political alliances and hegemony, the relationship of external and internal factors, of the methods of the struggle and the forms of political and state organization, and especially the interaction of political and socioeconomic transformations yield to comparative analysis with more difficulty. The importance of refining the conceptual apparatus which we now use is most apparent in these spheres.

B.I. Koval's comments on the characteristic regional features of the revolutionary process are interesting: contemporary social battles in Latin America; the second generation of African revolutions; and the specific features of revolutions in Asia. The vitally important questions of correlating the actions "from the top" and "from the bottom", the social and political characteristics of "military revolutionary democracy" and the army's role, the various types of revolutionary character, the antagonism between revolution and counterrevolution and internal contradictions in the revolutionary camp, and the importance of revolutionary solidarity which the work poses are also significant. A simple enumeration of them attests to the breadth of scope and yet each of them, viewed through the prism of historical specifics, is truly inexhaustible and creates a need for further study and discussion.

American imperialism's plans to use the threat of unleashing thermonuclear or possibly even "star" war to retard the world revolutionary process is perhaps the most serious problem in the contemporary world where the global level is becoming absolutely paramount, forcing back (but not supplanting) the regional and national levels. The efforts of imperialism have reached unprecedented concentration; imperialism wants to take social revenge, strangle real socialism, repress the struggle of peoples for justice and progress, and perpetuate world capitalism under the aegis of the United States.

Nonetheless, no threat or even use of force can stop the world revolutionary process. After all, it is the result of profound causes rooted in the very essence of social life, production, and intercourse. The system of real socialism created by revolution has the ability to maintain military-strategic parity with imperialism and not permit it to attain military superiority. The potential of opposing imperialism which is maturing in the hearts of oppressed countries is not running low. These countries can henceforth count on international assistance from all progressive forces.

In the citadels of capitalism, the threat of nuclear holocaust and the extreme aggravation of the problem of the survival of civilization and of mankind

itself has already led to an enormous expansion of the sphere of mass general democratic movements, above all the struggle for peace. Of course, today these movements are complexly related to the class struggle of workers and the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for peace. "The interaction of these two processes," writes B.I. Koval', "is quite complex and to a certain extent contradictory. Nonetheless, the opinion that peace and revolution are incompatible is a profound error" (p 169).

In continuing this idea it may be noted that the connection between war and revolution which has historically developed is undergoing fundamental changes which we cannot yet fully comprehend. At one time capitalism successfully used war as a method of resolving social contradictions, among them the disruption of the revolutionary movement. The first victorious revolution of the proletariat showed that a new, much more effective means of resolving social contradictions in conditions of peace had been found. Despite the hostility of capitalist encirclement, the Country of the Soviets proved to be the standard bearer of peace. World War II proved the ineffectiveness of military methods for resolving contradictions for the aggressor, since the revolutionary movement which appeared out of resistance to the oppressors created the world system of socialism and was able to substantially narrow imperialism's sphere of influence.

In contemporary conditions where communists face the task of the struggle against not only oppression and exploitation but for preserving peace on Earth, it is precisely social revolution which becomes the most effective antithesis to war and the policy of imperialism, which has conceived the idea to replay the battles of the 20th century which they irrevocably lost, using the threat of a paralyzing first strike. Today the preservation of peace can be reliably accomplished by the political will of socialism, the power of its armed forces, and intense opposition to imperialism by all progressive forces, above all the international working class. Acting together, all these factors can isolate and restrain an aggressor who has gone too far and force him to return to detente and the search for means to resolve conflicts.

Summarizing the experience of mass social activism, B.I. Koval's book helps to mobilize them further. The book therefore not only contributes to the development of the science of revolution but, as its chief editor noted, from the standpoint of indoctrinating revolutionaries, it is also a "good beginning and acquires great cognitive and stimulating importance" (p 8).

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu.A. Krasin, "Revolyutsionnyy protsess sovremennosti. Teoreticheskiye ocherki" [The Revolutionary Process of Contemporary Times. Theoretical Essays] Moscow, 1981.
2. Ibid., p 6.

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